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The great Piazza with procession on S. Petronio's day
From the Insignia of the Anziani for the 5th bimestre of the year 1730

BOLOGNA

ITS HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES AND ART

BY

EDITH E. COULSON JAMES

WITH UPWARDS OF ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY MOTHER

WITH WHOM I FIRST SAW BOLOGNA

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I am indebted to Mr. Emery Walker for care and artistic skill in reproducing from my negatives and drawings.

The design on the back of the cover is Umbrian, as incised on the Umbrian pottery. The design on the front of the cover shows one of the patterns of the terra-cotta architectural mouldings of the Gothic period, and the panel represents the army of Theodosius marching on Bologna.—E. E. C. J.

PREFACE

THE interests of Bologna are unique as well as varied. Its dominant position on the highway through the Apennines has kept it in touch with the chief events of Italian history, and through that with great events in the world beyond. The shadowy Umbrian and Etruscan are known in the products of their workshops here. Here is the Garisenda of Dante: here the famous Law University of the Middle Ages. Frederick Barbarossa and the Emperor Charles V have their place in the story; King Enzo and Queen Margherita.

We have the art of Francia, and the art of Italy's latest great school of painting, with much art besides that deserves to be better known. In visiting the Pinacoteca at Bologna we should do well to remember that we are reviewing the continuous art of one great school only, the work done in one great city. Take away from the splendid galleries of Florence all that has come from outside Florence, and we should feel some very serious vacancies in the places of our old friends. But take away from the Pinacoteca of Bologna the pictures painted by

artists not trained in the workshops of Bologna, and we should hardly feel the difference. It is a point worth keeping in mind.

Bologna had her part too in the great struggle for the Liberation of Italy, with Ugo Bassi and many heroes whose names are less universally known.

It is not possible in a few short chapters to give adequately the history of a great city. I have had to content myself with bringing together those facts which it is most essential to know for the appreciation of what one sees in visiting Bologna, and to link its history on to the wider history of Italy and of Europe. In doing this, I have tried at least to reflect the spirit of the modern historical school of Bologna.

Very good work has been ably done by this critical school : the work is founded on documentary evidence and the study of chronicles and the archives. One after another distinct periods have been treated by the different writers. The great work of the master—Professor Pio Carlo Falletti—whom all the younger historians and his pupils revere, is yet to come. A large share of the work has been done by Dott. Albano Sorbelli ; and the latest volume of the series is the work of Dott. Alma Gorreta, a young lady who has recently obtained the " Laurea " in " Filosofia e Lettere." The " Golden Age " of the Bentivoglio has not yet been attempted.

There is a very considerable literature at Bologna, which those who speak slightingly of modern Italian literature would do well to consider. I have thought things out for myself, but at the same time it would not have been possible to cover so large a field in the researches of five years, if it had not been for the life-work of the great scholars of Bologna. I have been careful to verify where there was room for verification, and often I have had to choose between the conflicting conclusions of high authorities. On many points information is apt to be contradictory. In such cases I have tried to choose the conclusion for which there was the best evidence. But it is the work of the great scholars and writers of Bologna that has made possible a concise review of so much that is important in the archaeology and history of the city. Even in art, though no history of the art of Bologna has ever been written, and no complete theory of its development propounded, very interesting and suggestive monographs have been written which I have found most helpful in the development of my theories, for they have pointed to the sources from which it was possible to evolve and construct a theory.

To those who find the little I have told about the grand old Franciscan church interesting, I would say read the delightful works of the Cav. Alfonso Rubbiani, to whose energy we owe its

restoration. And to those who would know more of the great University, I would commend the interesting works of Carlo Malagola, Lodovico Frati, and Francesco Cavazza.

The residence of the exiled Stuarts in Rome has formed the subject of many interesting works; but writers seem to have overlooked the fact that "il Rè Giacomo III" for many years really held a Court in Bologna, and was treated with the greatest courtesy and royal honours by the hospitable Bolognese. The records of his stay in the city, going to and fro between Rome and Bologna, are most interesting.

The story is not to be traced in published history, but in the MS. chronicle of Ghiselli, who was an eye-witness of the events he records: he died in 1729. The fact of the residence of James Stuart in the Casa Belloni and in the Palazzo Fantuzzi had gone out of remembrance. The guide-books do not mention it. It was long before I could trace the Casa Belloni, as the name has been changed with changed ownership. At last I got my clue from the MS. chronicle of Oretti on art. It was soon after this discovery that I learnt that Dott. L. Frati had published an interesting article on "Maria Clementina Sobieski in Italia" in the "Nuova Antologia" of August, 1908. Earlier reference to the article would have saved me some research, but would have deprived me of the pleasant

sense of having made a discovery when I succeeded in tracing that picture of the "Rest on the Flight into Egypt" "in the lunette of the Casa Belloni in the via dei Gombruti," and descried it across the cortile of No. 23 in that street. The tablet on the staircase confirmed the discovery.

Archaeology at Bologna throws light on Umbrian civilization south of the Apennines, and in other parts of Italy. The antiquities of Bologna have been well and systematically studied, and the great works of Zannoni and the acute and learned writings of Professor Brizio give a clear and complete account of the discoveries in and around Bologna, and lead to definite conclusions as to their value and meaning. The writings too of Count Giovanni Gozzadini are most valuable and interesting, as they give most exact and accurate accounts of his own discoveries, and illuminating suggestions in his own conclusions from what he saw. Other writers have contributed in lesser degrees to our knowledge of the subject. Dennis's "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria" has been most interesting and useful for things Etruscan in general, though it is not trustworthy for accuracy in respect to the finds at Bologna. At the time when Dennis wrote this addition to his original work the full import of the discoveries at Bologna had not been realized—the Umbrian had not emerged to claim his independent and distinctive civilization. The suggestion of Dennis that we

should seek the site of Etruscan Felsina on some near mount of the Apennines has been proved untenable by the finding of the foundations of Etruscan dwellings within the present site of Bologna.

There exists no guide to the Museo Civico, though a new one is promised. The excellent little guide-book compiled by Professor Brizio and Dottore Lodovico Frati in 1887 has long been out of print. I am indebted to the little book for fundamental information which has helped me in drawing up my little account. The need of a guide has induced me to sacrifice literary form in these chapters in the hope that they may help the hurried traveller to see the chief treasures the Museum contains, and not to miss the things of chief importance.

The great and ancient University is of course one of the strongest interests of Bologna. Many are the distinguished names connected with it, both as students and as professors. But space does not permit me to do justice to the great names rightly belonging to its history. Some can only just be mentioned, some perforce must be omitted. I have put together a few facts concerning those most specifically and distinctively characteristic of the place.

In connection with the churches I have drawn information from very copious ecclesiastical sources. The records are well written, and mostly by men of high authority in the Church at Bologna.

It is very difficult to determine exactly how much historical foundation there is for these Church legends. But it seems to me that there must be an interest in the beliefs that have secured the veneration of so many generations, and to which the continued attendance at the shrines of the city still bears witness, even though the details of the stories may not be secure against the attacks of modern criticism. In trying to give personality to the names one meets so constantly in Bologna, I have drawn from the most trustworthy sources only just an outline of that which is best entitled to belief in the story of the lives of the saints. It is very interesting to observe how much of mediaeval custom and tradition is still preserved in the busy modern city.

Discoveries of forgotten pictures and researches in neglected archives have yielded interesting facts which must lead to some reconstruction in the art theories of those whose outlook on the art of Italy is taken only from the standpoint of Florence. The Schools of Art at Bologna have been more continuous and more important than has at all been realized by historians and critics of art. From the indications I have already seen, I am convinced that only leisure is needed for research to enable us to place much more to the credit of the artists of Bologna.

The restoration of the fine altar picture at

Nonantola to its place in the art of Bologna forms a very important link in my chain of evidence for the continuity of the Art Schools of Bologna. Nonantola is off the beaten track of the tourist, though its connection with the Countess Matilda attracts some pilgrims to its shrine, and both its architecture and its archives have great claims on the interest of lovers of history and art. But even among those who journey to the Badia, probably few examine very closely the painting of the altar-piece veiled in the dimness of the apsidal chapel of the great church, and fewer still enquire the name of the artist. Even if they arrive at the name, it probably conveys no meaning to them. In Bologna itself Michele di Matteo Lambertini is only beginning to achieve an individuality in modern art cognizance. A few rather indifferent pictures in the Pinacoteca have been identified as his. Others are mentioned by Malvasia, and we may hope that more will yet be traced.

The limitations of space make it impossible to give any appreciation of the work of the later artists of Bologna. I can only hope to give some idea of the scope of their work. But many I have not been able even to mention.

Such a slight sketch as the present must necessarily be in all departments only suggestive,—it cannot be exhaustive. But I have tried to bring together materials that may be valuable for those

who are able and willing to think for themselves. At the same time, I hope I may have succeeded in putting the facts together in a way that will prove interesting even for those who do not care to go more deeply into the various subjects.

It is not easy adequately to express my gratitude for the kindness I have received from all in Bologna with whom my researches have brought me in contact. From the humblest "custodes" to the highest dignitaries in Church and State, and representatives of those distinguished families of whom Sir R. Burton speaks so appropriately, saying they make Bologna "a rare land of courtesy,"—all have shown me a kindness and courtesy which have made my work in Bologna a real pleasure. Of those whose kindness I remember some have passed away within the last two years,—as l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Arcivescovo Svampa, and Professor Brizio.

The constant kindness of all the authorities at the Biblioteca Comunale has placed the rich treasures it contains easily at my disposal. I must mention with special gratitude the kindness of the Direttore Dott. Sorbelli, of Signor Gaspare Ungarelli, of Signor Lino Sighinolfi, and of Signor Fedeli, who were ever ready to help me with advice, and without loss of time to find me the best book on any subject about which I enquired. The generous kindness with which the authorities

here, and in the University Library and the Archivio di Stato have trusted me with their most precious MSS. and documents will always be remembered by me with grateful appreciation. And it has been pleasant to note the cheerful readiness with which the " distributatori " brought me the piles of heavy books it has been necessary to consult.

At the Archivio di Stato I have met with the same kindness, and would especially thank Signor G. Livi,—the Direttore,—and Signor Orioli. The Archivio is one of the richest in Italy in beautiful miniatured parchments. The Insignia of the Anziani and the Rotuli of the University are of quite unique interest and value. The Archivio also contains ancient Statutes and Matricole of the Guilds, Privilegi, and various documents. All these treasures have been freely brought to me to study and to photograph.

The University Library has its special treasures too. It is here that the more than ninety volumes of the MS. chronicle of Ghiselli may be studied. I would thank the Direttore,—Dott. Lodovico Frati,—both for kindness in his official capacity, and for the valuable information to be found in his own writings. " Il Reverendo Don Antonio Bottoni " has given me valuable help on points of ecclesiastical lore.

The courteous kindness with which the late Count Pompeo Aria arranged for my comfort on

my first visit to Marzabotto is one of the pleasant memories connected with my work in Bologna. The kind permission of his son, Count Adolfo Aria, has enabled me more than once to revisit and study both the sites of the Etruscan city and the well-arranged treasures of his museum.

By the kind permission of the " Nobile Donna Laura Rodriguez y Laso De' Buoi " I was able twice to examine the precious " targa Bentivolesca."

It was by the kindness of the Prefect of the Province and the Governor of the military hospital that I obtained permission to visit what remains of the first Duomo, the earliest Christian site in Bologna.

To these and to all my many kind friends in Bologna I offer heartfelt thanks.

The home comforts of my long stays in Bologna I owe to the kindness and courteous attention of Mr. and Mrs. Frank at the Hotel Brun.

I would include the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence in my record of thanks.

In England too I have kindness to acknowledge. I thank the authorities of the British Museum for special privileges at the time when space was limited by the closing of the Reading Room, and for procuring a rare out of print book at my suggestion. To the Librarian and some of the staff of the London Library also my thanks are due.

At the Bodleian I would specially acknowledge

Mr. Madan's kind help in tracing the present home of the original document of the Authentic Habita. To the keeper of the Ashmolean I am indebted for special facilities in connection with the drawings by Timoteo Vite and Raphael in the collections of the University Galleries.

Lastly, and by no means least, I would thank my brother, Mr. Lionel James, for kind advice on points of classical scholarship; and my aunt, Mrs. Leah, and my uncle, Mr. A. F. James, for kind help in reading the proofs. Also the Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco for kind encouragement and advice as to Risorgimento sources of information, for which her own delightful writings have inspired so much interest.

The School House,
Monmouth,
October, 1909.

MARKET IN THE PIAZZA OTTO AGOSTO AND ON THE SLOPES OF THE MONTAGNOLA

BOLOGNA

CHAPTER I

ASPECT OF THE TOWN—THE WALLS AND THE COLONNADES

Roma non era per anche, e già Felsina o Bologna esisteva.

SALVATORE MUZZI.

MOST people who have travelled much in Italy have rested at Bologna, but few travellers stay long enough to feel the charm of its historic and antiquarian interests. They see the busy flourishing town of to-day with its industries and varied trading. The book-sellers' shops have an air of distinction about them, and show the literary productions of the best intellects in well-ordered array. There are well-kept shops in all departments for the necessaries and conveniences of life, and from these down to the humbler trading of the markets there is prosperous business activity. The Saturday market in the Piazza otto Agosto is, perhaps, the busiest trading scene in the city, and is a good point of vantage for studying the characteristics of the peasantry who come crowding in

from the surrounding country. Many are the picturesque costumes and fine faces to be seen there, especially in the early morning. This Saturday market is no doubt the worthy successor of the market held in mediaeval times by the Porta Ravegnana, and depicted in the quaint illumination of one of the Guild books. In the midst of the busy hum of modern life the passing traveller hardly realizes how much remains of mediaeval Bologna, and even from a more remote antiquity. All know the fine group of old buildings in the great piazza, but you must spend weeks in Bologna to trace out all the quaint old bits and the historic fragments that are scattered and hidden among buildings of later date. The blending of old and new is an interesting study, and one notes in the building of to-day the continuance of the old characteristics of style in the fine lofty colonnades that carry on the tradition of the quaint, low arcades of the old days, which are still to be found in the poorer quarters of the town.

Bologna may truly be called the city of the colonnades. There are colonnades in all directions and of every variety of form. There are those low, picturesque old colonnades of the poor parts of the town. There are colonnades with flat ceilings, colonnades with barn-like rafters, others with plain barrel vaulting, others with groined vaulting, and some again with moulded ribs. There are pointed arches, round arches,

MARKET IN THE PIAZZA OTTO AGOSTO

and parts where only a flat architrave rests on and connects the pillars. Some of the modern colonnades are very lofty, and some are adorned in graceful fresco. There are round pillars, square pillars, and massive clustered pillars supporting the arches. In a few instances the old massive wooden pillars remain. Many of the arches are decorated with the terra cotta ornament, and some are very richly adorned. Altogether these colonnades, and the extent to which they are used, give the town a quite unique appearance. You can walk for miles in the shelter of arcades, in many parts with handsome shop fronts under their arches, and sometimes with a little entresol story above.

Bologna has a distinctive style of Architecture of its own—a style that is still living and growing. Being an Italian town its architecture has affinities with the architecture of other Italian towns; but it has very marked characteristics which are essentially and exclusively its own. Besides the colonnades, the extensive use of terra cotta ornament in the decoration of buildings is a very marked characteristic. It is used round the windows of palaces, and as a sort of frieze under the projection of roofs, where its line is often diversified with terra cotta corbels. It is used in the hood-mouldings of doorways, and in fact wherever rich ornament can be appropriately applied. The historic old buildings of Bologna are from time to time restored, with the most discerning care.

In all work of this kind there has been the most faithful attention to detail, and much that has seemed to be lost has been recovered either from careful study of indications in the masonry itself, or from careful drawings made in the past by citizens who appreciated the value of the artistic monuments of past ages. The city owes much in this department to the conscientious work of the Cav. Rubiani. Bologna is the chief town of the Province of Bologna, and is in fact the most important city of Emilia. It is the seat of the Government of the Province, and the Regia Prefettura occupies a considerable part of the venerable Palazzo Pubblico. The town is situated between the Reno and Saveno, at a central point on the great via Aemilia of the Romans. This is a commanding position both for trade and from a military point of view, and the history of Bologna proves the importance of the site. Traditions of its importance go back into the far past, long before the time of authentic history. It is said to have been a place of importance in the mythic age of the siege of Troy. We have historic mention of the town as existing at least 150 years before the foundation of Rome.

Though Bologna is built on the plain, pyramidal spurs of the Apennines come quite close to the city walls. The walls may be mentioned quite advisedly, for although Bologna is no longer completely encircled by its walls the remains of these walls are very considerable, and one can

PORTA D'AZEGLIO: THE OLD PORTA S. MAMOLO
NOW PULLED DOWN

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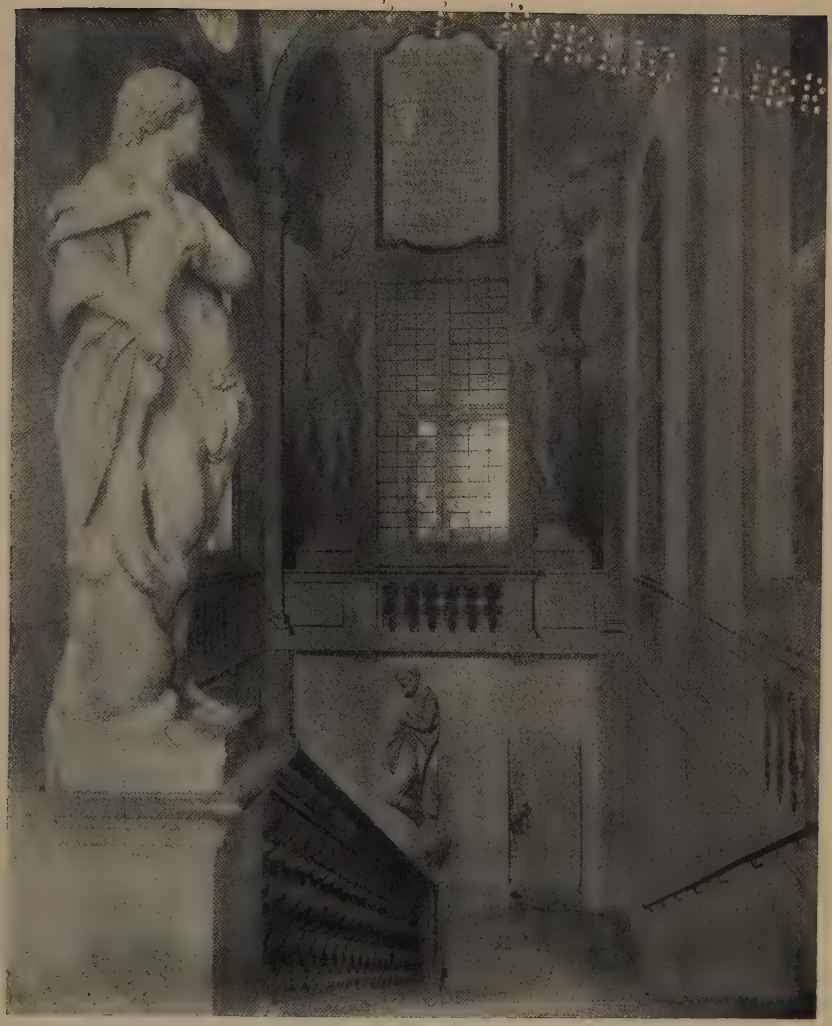
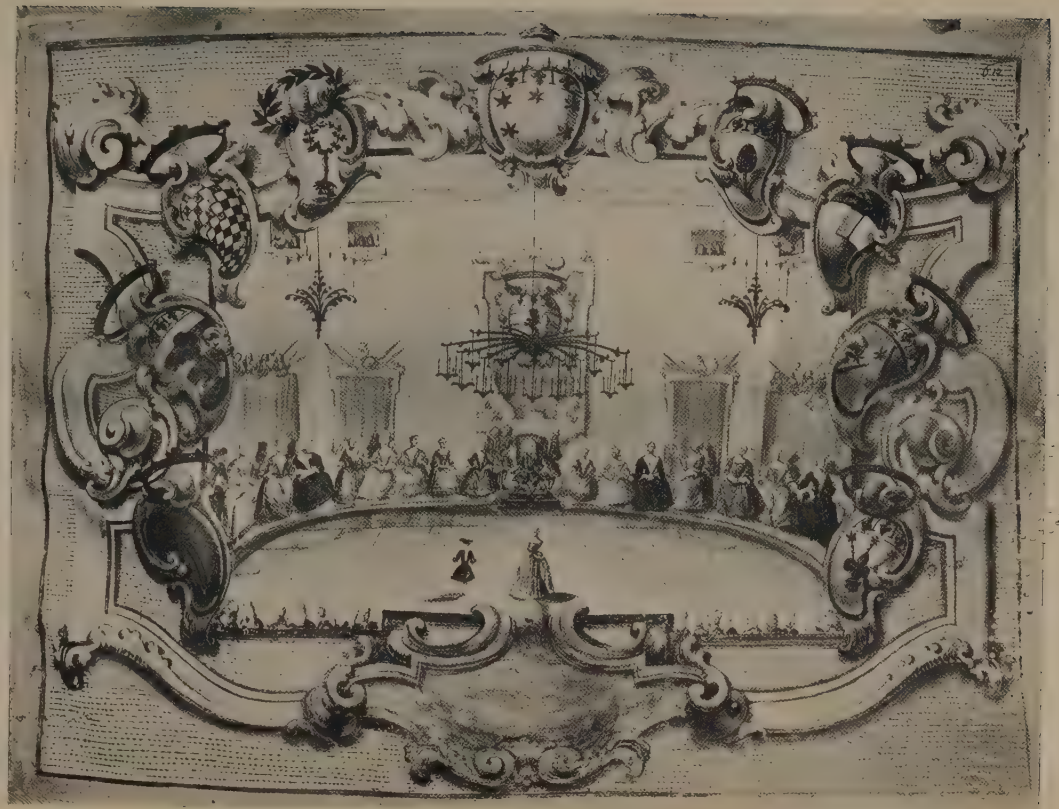
THE MEETING OF OLD AND NEW

Remains of the fortress of Galliera and the Scalea della Montagnola



CASA BELLONI

STAIRCASE AND TABLET WITH INSCRIPTION



LITTLE PRINCE CHARLIE DANCING WITH THE CONTESSA

From the Insignia of the Anziani for the 6th bimestre of the year 1726

get a fair idea of the aspect of the town from without in mediaeval times. The circuit, broken in front of the railway station for a considerable stretch, was elsewhere fairly continuous, till about two years ago; it was broken for a space on either side of each of the gates, and just here and there a little break for convenience of ingress and egress. Since then destruction has been proceeding, and a fresh break near the Porta d'Azeglio gave work to some of the unemployed last winter. The swift stream of the Canale delle Moline issues from under the walls between the Porta Galliera and the Porta Mascarella, rather over half way towards the latter, and for a space it follows the course of the fosse of the old fortifications. It passes the last remaining fragment of the old fortress of Galliera, close to the spot where the fiercest fighting took place on the memorable 8th of August, 1848. Here old and new meet together, for on the opposite side of the road rises the marble construction of steps with balustrades, sculptured decorations and reliefs of historical and allegorical subjects, called the Scalea della Montagnola. This commemorates the victory of the people of Bologna over the Austrian troops in the struggle for freedom in 1848. The inscription runs:—"Fighting close here with their ancient ardour for liberty, the Bolognese people on the 8th of August 1848 put to rout the phalanxes of the Austrians, presaging the victory of Italian Independence. These loggie arise on

the ruins of the fortress of Galliera, five times erected as a menace to Bolognese liberty, five times destroyed by the people." The Scalea was erected between 1893 and 1896. Tablets under the colonnades of the adjoining Piazza otto agosto record the names of the heroes of the fight who were killed or wounded. The commemorative monument on the piazza is by Pasquale Rizzoli (1904). The fosse itself continues in the other direction on to the Porta S. Vitale: in this latter part there is only a little shallow line of water at the bottom. There is a little deep fosse from the Porta Castiglione to the Porta S. Isaia. The wall is mostly 3 to 4 ft. thick and is composed of stony rubble inside, and faced with reddish bricks, very much like what we are wont to call Roman tiles when we find them built into walls in England. These are the walls that were begun early in the 14th century on the line of the fosse dug some 120 years earlier. The "merli" or battlements were added in 1370, and the walls were completed in 1390.

There were twelve gates. Of these two—the Porta S. Isaia and the Porta d'Azeglio—have been pulled down, and no trace of them remains. The Porta Galliera was rebuilt in 1661 from the designs of the architect Bartolomeo Provaglia.

The Porta Mascarella dates from 1511.

The Porta Zamboni was built in 1400.

The Porta S. Vitale, erected in 1286, had a

PORTA SAN FELICE

drawbridge added in 1334. This drawbridge was taken away when the Government was in the hands of Ignazio Boncompagni.

The Porta Mazzini was built by Giovanni Giacomo Dotti in 1770. But there are here very interesting remains of the older Porta Maggiore, which are worthy of the study of archæologists.

The old Porta S. Stefano is now represented by plain modern iron gates, with ugly square pagoda erections for "dogana" on either side. The precise value of the gates is not very apparent, seeing that there is very spacious entry into the town on either side round the back of the "dogana." This gate is also now called the Barriera Gregoriana.[1]

The Porta Castiglione dates from 1378, but has been restored.

The Porta Saragozza, first erected in 1290, was rebuilt in antique style, and enlarged in 1859. Its imposing proportions were designed by the architect Enrico Brunetti Rodati, assisted by Mengoni, and are doubtless due to its importance in connection with the processions of the venerated Madonna di S. Luca.

The Porta S. Felice is one of the most graceful of these structures, and dates from 1506. It was restored for the entry of Napoleon in 1805, and again in 1849–50. The road has been renamed Aurelio Saffi, and it seems likely that the gate will be drawn into the new name and its connection with the early Bishop lost sight of.

The Porta Lame, rebuilt from designs of Agostino Barelli in 1677, looks comparatively modern and tolerably ugly.

Besides these chief gates, there were four smaller, postern gates dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. A little south of the Porta S. Felice the Canale del Reno enters the city under a bastion of the wall. Two of the ancient portcullises hang suspended by the old chains under the two arches.

A fresh break has been made in the walls within the last few months for convenience in the erection of new villas, and it is much to be feared that the demolition of these fine relics of past ages may continue. There is a pleasant drive round the boulevards, the road planted with trees, that continues round the whole circuit of the walls.

There are some remains of the earlier line of walls, that to which the enclosure of the town is said to have been extended by S. Petronio when he found that, with the revival of prosperity under his care, the original circuit of the Roman wall was too restricted. The fine old gates we now see remaining cannot date back to the time of the good Bishop, though they may replace earlier ones on the line of fortifications that he drew. The gates as we now see them are probably erections of about A.D. 1200, and show good old masonry. Beginning with S. Vitale, a picturesque old gateway close to the church of S. Vitale and

THE WATER GATE

MAP OF BOLOGNA, DRAWN IN 1631

Agricola, the line of the wall runs by the Piazza Aldrovandi, via Guerrazzi, and the via Castellata to the old Porta Castiglione. Thence by the via del Cestello, Piazza de' Tribunali and via Tovaglie. In the via d'Azeglio, a stone inserted in the wall, not far from the church of S. Procolo, marks the site of the ancient Porta Procula. The stone is sculptured with the representation of a gateway and an inscription. The line continues by the via Castelfidardo, via Capramozza, via dei Mussolini, via Nosadella, and the Piazza Malpighi to the Porta Nuova. This fine old gateway was the ancient Porta Stiera. The old Porta S. Felice was close to the Hotel Brun. Thence the line of the wall is by via Casse to the Porta Poggiale in the via of the same name. On by the via Ripa di Reno and via Falegnami, and the vicolo Piella where is another gate. It is now called the "voltone dei Piella"; but it is worth considering whether we may not have here the old Porta Piera, of the ancient quarters of the city. Following the via Republicana, the via Moline and the via Castagnoli, we come to the Piazza del Comunale, and we see adjoining the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore a fine bit of the old wall recently restored to view. The line from here by the via Pellacani to the via S. Vitale completes the circuit.

The earliest circuit of walls had only four gates, the Porta Stiera, the Porta Piera, the Porta Procola, and the Porta Ravegnana. And for purposes of

government and defence the town was divided into quarters, taking their names from these gates. The map we reproduce was drawn in 1631. It gives the two mediaeval circuits of walls, though the buildings and camps represent Roman times. It is one of the valuable old maps in the collection of the Biblioteca Comunale.[2]

The site of Bologna has been chosen between the rivers Reno and Savena, but it does not touch the banks of either. There are swift-flowing canals that bring the waters of the two rivers and of the streamlet Aposa[3] through the city. The canale di Reno has its beginning at Casalecchio, and enters the town between Porta S. Isaia and Porta S. Felice. It is not at all like our idea of a canal, for it is a very swift-flowing stream. It is very narrow, and its waters are of a chalky bluish tint. It passes by via della Grada and via Riva di Reno. In this part its banks are a very busy scene on washing days. Near to the via Polese it divides into two branches. The branch named the Canale del Porto Navile is open for nearly its whole course, and runs out under the walls east of the Porta Lame. The other branch, the Canale delle Moline, passes underground for most of its course, and eventually passes out of the town between the Porta Mascarella and the Porta Galliera. The Canale dell' Aposa is drawn from the waters of the torrent of that name which descends from Monte Paderno. It winds round the hill of S. Michele in Bosco, passes between the Laboratorio Pirotecnico

CANALE DELLE MOLINE

and the Artillery Barracks, and enters the town between the Porta d'Azeglio and the Porta Castiglione. Its course through the city is entirely hidden; it is joined by the waters of the Canale di Savena, and eventually the combined waters flow into the Canale delle Moline. The whole stream then flows swiftly westwards, and having joined the Canale di Naviglio or di Porta Navile flows on to empty itself into the river Reno. The Canale di Savena takes its rise at S. Ruffillo: it crosses the Giardini Margherita, and entering by the Porta Castiglione, pursues a covered course till it joins the Canale dell' Aposa. The canals have had a very great importance, both for the health and for the industries of the town. It was about the year A.D. 1191 that some Bolognese families, called collectively Ramisani, first brought the water of the Canale di Reno into the town for the working of their mills. In A.D. 1208 there was a public act registered by a notary, purchasing the canal for the public benefit, with clauses securing to the vendors just rights for their mills. Great works were undertaken and a fleet built which carried merchandise to the Reno and thence to the sea. The history of the Canale di Savena begins in A.D. 1176. Its waters were brought into the city by the care of the Commune, and were used for mills to grind corn, and also in the dyer's art. At that time the water of the Savena was considered to be of a specially perfect quality for the purposes of dyeing. Historians state that in the time of

Pope Sixtus V there were 15,000 workers employed in the woollen manufactures of Bologna. And in these manufactures water power was greatly used. There were considerable silk manufactories as well as manufactories of paper and pottery.

CHAPTER II

EARLIEST INHABITANTS AND HISTORY

Bononia Felsina vocitata cum princeps Etruriae esset.

PLINY.

THE country around Bologna was inhabited by man in prehistoric times, and traces of man in the Stone Age have been found in many districts. At Croara Prof. Capellini found some flints in 1861, which he judged to have been shaped by the hand of man. And at Pragatto vast quantities of bones of domestic animals have been found, as well as fictile remains. Many of the bones have been made into arms and instruments, points of lances and small implements. At Castelfranco and Prevosta Prof. Brizio has made careful examination of the various finds. It is impossible to determine to what race these dwellers in the terramara may have belonged. In the Bronze Age the earliest inhabitants of Bolognese territory were probably Ligurians. These were succeeded by the Umbrians, and of Umbrian art and industry we have abundant remains which will be described in considering the Museo Civico. There are Umbrian remains from the Age of Iron as well as from the Age of Bronze. Pliny speaks

of the Umbrians as "gens antiquissima Italiae" (*N.H.* III. 14), and for a time they seem to have been lords of the whole of central Italy. South of the Apennines their rule came to an end at an earlier date than in the Northern districts of the Po. This is proved by the more primitive character of the remains of their art found in the South.

The name of the earliest city on this site was Felsina. Felsina is said to have been founded by Ocnus or Aucnus, the brother or son of Auleres, the founder of Perusia; and it is described by some writers as a place of importance even before the fall of Troy. Silius Italicus refers to it as "Ocni prisca domus." The meaning of its name —Felsina—is the "noble city." It was a city of the Umbrians for many centuries. The Etruscans advanced from South of the Apennines where their powerful confederacy had long been established, and conquered the Umbrians. Felsina became the chief city of a Northern confederacy of twelve cities, forming Etruria Circumpadana. This migration northwards probably took place at the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C. But the Etruscans have left us no written records that survive, so history and dates can only be inferred from the evidence of artistic remains and monuments. At Bologna there is evidence that the Umbrians though conquered were neither extirpated nor driven out. They continued to live on under the domination of

the Etruscans, and their artistic civilization influenced the art and industry of their conquerors. Skulls of the Umbrian type and skulls of the Etruscan type were found in the excavations at the Certosa, but the greater number were of an intermediate type, thus proving the fusion of the races.

In considering the artistic and monumental remains of these mysterious Etruscan conquerors, the question arises in our minds—whence did they come? Clearly they are of Eastern origin —the type of physiognomy shows it. Their social and domestic manners, their civil and religious polity were Oriental. Nearly all the Greek and Roman writers who mention them concur in describing them as a tribe of Lydians. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the only dissentient. His chief objection is that the native Lydian historian, Xanthus, makes no mention of the migration, and never claims the Etruscans as Lydians. Herodotus is the first to record this migration, and he tells how it was caused by a long-continued famine in Lydia. His story is perhaps somewhat legendary. But the main fact of the migration was a tradition both among the Romans and the Etruscans, and as late as the time of Tiberius it was publicly referred to by the deputies from Sardis, who recited before the Roman senate a decree of the Etruscans, and claimed relationship on the ground that Etruria had been colonized by Lydians (Tacit., *Ann.* IV, 55). Among modern

historians various theories have been advanced as to the origin of the Etruscans. Niebuhr held that they were a northern tribe, and came from the Rhoetian Alps. But the latest critical research confirms the old tradition, and the best authorities now maintain that the Etruscans came to Italy from Asia Minor, if not from Lydia, from some neighbouring state. In the words of Seneca, "Tuscos Asia sibi vindicat," "Asia claims the Etruscans as her own" (Seneca, *Consul. ad Helv.* VI, 9). The Etruscans were great builders, and we still look with wonder on the massive walls that they constructed; they were acquainted with the use and true constructive principle of the arch, though we cannot claim for them the credit of its invention, as Assyrians and Egyptians had used it before them. Rome owed her Cloaca Maxima to them, and Etruscans built the first Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Of that temple nothing now remains, but on the sites of the many Etruscan cities we find huge piles of masonry that show us how they built, without cement, yet so strongly, that the walls still stand firm after nearly 3000 years. Some of these walls are composed of great blocks of stone, in some the stones are smaller and the work is beautifully cut and fitted. The blocks are mostly rectangular, though varying in size, but in a few cases they are polygonal. Servius tells us that the Etruscan cities were each ruled by a Lucumo who combined priestly powers with his civil authority. The

Lucumo was skilled in divination and the mysteries of augury which were so prominent in the religious system of the Etruscans. It was from the Etruscans that the Romans derived their system of divination, and Etruscan "aruspices" were consulted even in the later days of the Empire. The religion of the Etruscans was altogether Eastern in its character —gloomy, unbending, and mysterious.

The three great deities were—

Tina or Tinia, whose character and attributes were similar to those of the Greek Zeus.

Thalma or Cupra, like the Greek Hera.

Menvra, like the Greek Pallas-Athene. There were the Dii Consentes or Complices, and the Dii Involuti or "the shrouded Gods," mysterious deities to whom gods as well as men owed obedience. Of the many other gods, those most frequently represented in art are perhaps—Sethlans, the Roman Vulcan, and Phuphluns, the Roman Bacchus.

Mantus and Mania were the Etruscan deities of the infernal regions, and Charun was their messenger, the "great conductor of souls." He is represented on many of the sculptured stelae as guiding the soul of the deceased to its abode in the unknown world.

As there were twelve cities in the Southern Confederacy, so in Etruria Circumpadana there were twelve cities, of which Felsina was the chief. As Pliny tells us, "Bononia Felsina vocitata cum princeps Etruriae esset" (Pliny, *N.H.* III, 20).

The Etruscans continued to rule at Felsina at the time of the Gallic descents into the valley of the Po, the tribe of the Boi conquered them and took possession of the town 389 B.C. It may be that from this Gallic tribe its later name Bononia was derived. A derivation from 'Bonn' =neighbourhood, and 'on'=heights has also been suggested. But though in either case the origin would be Gallo-Celtic, we only have proof of the changed name after the Roman occupation. In the warfare between the Romans and the Gallic tribes the Boi had their part. And in the Second Punic War there were Boi in the army of Hannibal at the Trebbia and in the battle of Thrasymene. The Boi were frequently defeated by the Romans, and under the skilful leadership of Publius Scipio Nasica the Romans finally conquered them B.C. 198. The Boi soon retired, and Bononia was made a Roman colony; 3000 military colonists of Latin race were established there, B.C. 189. Within two years of this date the Consul Aemilius Lepidus was constructing that great highway connecting Rimini and Piacenza which bore his name as the Via Aemilia. This great road passes through Bologna, and vestiges of it have been found in excavations in the Via Mazzini, near to the Torre degli Asinelli. The Roman road is at a depth of about 2 metres below the present surface. It crossed the very centre of Bologna from the Porta S. Felice to the Porta Mazzini. And beyond the gates the

main line of its course is the line of the road to-day.

The country around Bologna and Modena was the scene of the fighting consequent on the outbreak of rival ambitions following the death of Julius Caesar. The wounded Consul Pansa retired to Bologna to die. It was on a little island in the Reno, near to Bologna, that Octavius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Lepidus held that meeting which, after three days' deliberation, resulted in the formation of the second triumvirate, 43 B.C.

Bologna flourished under the Empire. Augustus Caesar gave it public baths. They were on the site now occupied by the Palazzo Albergati, and the Via Saragozza preserves the corruption of the Emperor's name. New colonists brought wealth; temples were built in honour of various gods; and in the reign of Claudius the geographer Pomp. Mela mentions Bononia as one of the five richest cities of Italy. It was in this reign that the city suffered severely from fire, and Nero, pleading for it before Claudius, obtained the grant of 10,000 sesterces (1,562,000 lire) to aid in its restoration.

There were memorials of the Antonines in and near Bologna. It was a favoured city from the time of its first establishment as a Roman colony with special privileges. But in Imperial contests it suffered severely, and at the beginning of the fifth century it was reduced to desolation by these wars and by barbaric invasions. Alaric, the Visigoth, first led a hostile army into Italy in A.D. 400, and

Bologna was also devastated by the hosts of the Huns, the Vandals and the Ostrogoths.

Alboin, the Lombard, crossed the Alps into Italy with his warriors in A.D. 568. The Lombards, after crossing from the Scandinavian peninsula, had been near neighbours of the Angli in their home on the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea, where they occupied a district just south of the Angli. When they moved southwards they made various temporary settlements in Central Europe before they marched by the way of the Julian Alps into Italy. Pavia was the chief city of the Lombard kingdom in Italy, though some of their kings reigned at Monza. During great part of the more than 200 years of the rule of the Lombard kings in Italy, Bologna was included in the Exarchate of Ravenna. But it was not a time of peace, and more than once the Lombard armies came that way in conflict with the western outpost of the Eastern Empire. Bologna, too, was not always content with the rule of the Exarchs. It seems that Luitprand, who was king from 712–744, finally established Lombard rule in Bologna in 727. He was a powerful and enlightened king, and did much for the welfare of the city.

Aistolfo, the Lombard king who succeeded Luitprand, defeated the Exarch Eutychius and drove him from Ravenna, making it the seat of his own government. He then turned his thoughts to the conquest of Rome. The Pope—Stephen II—

claimed the help of Pippin, king of the Franks, and journeyed into France to press his claims. While in France the Pope performed the ceremony of a second coronation of Pippin at St. Denis. It was at this time that Pippin made that "donation" to the Pope which has been claimed as the foundation of the temporal power of the Papacy. Pippin entered Italy with a large army, and defeated Aistolfo in 755. Peace was concluded, Aistolfo promising that he would not again attack the Pope and the Church. But as soon as Pippin was safely away in France, Aistolfo again besieged Rome. Pippin returned, and, having defeated the Lombard king, drove him also out of the Exarchate of Ravenna. Aistolfo was compelled to surrender to the Pope the cities of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis that he had taken. Fulrad, having received the submission of these cities on behalf of king Pippin, "placed the keys of those cities, together with the 'donation' on the tomb of St. Peter in Rome." This is the statement of the biographer of the Pope. Bologna is not included in the extant list of these cities, but it is named among the cities which Hadrian claimed in the reign of Charlemagne. Pippin was succeeded by his son Charles, known in history as Charles the Great, in September, 768. The kingdom was at first divided between Charles and his brother Carloman. Soon after the death of Carloman, when the great Charles was reigning alone, again a messenger from the Pope arrived at the court of the king of

the Franks. The Pope was now Hadrian I, and he sent to ask for aid against the faithless king of the Lombards—Desiderius—who had re-appropriated the ceded towns, and was marching on Rome. Like his father, Charles at first tried negotiation; but as this failed he marched into Italy in 773. There was a long campaign. At last, after a siege of eight months, Pavia surrendered, and Lombard rule in Italy came to an end in June, 774. Charles became, by right of conquest, king of the Lombards, his full title being *Carolus Rex Francorum et Langobardorum atque Patricius Romanorum.* The title of Patrician had been conferred on his father by Stephen II. Ecclesiastical writers assert that Charles now made a "donation" to the Pope—Hadrian I—even more extensive than the one made by his father to Stephen II. If this donation were really authentic it would have conferred on the Pope sovereign rights over about two-thirds of Italy. Certainly the events of Charlemagne's reign do not support so large a claim. The affairs of Italy brought the king from time to time to Rome. He was in Rome in A.D. 800, and as he knelt in the Basilica of St. Peter on Christmas Day he was crowned as Emperor by the Pope—Leo III—amidst the acclamations of the citizens of Rome. Thus was laid the foundation of the Imperial claims of Caesars of Teutonic race. It was the rights thus acquired by Charlemagne that Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II came down into Italy to enforce.

On September 10th, 813, Charles with his own hands crowned Louis, his only surviving son, as Emperor at Aachen, thus giving him a share in the government. Charles died on January 28th, 814. The Frankish Empire continued under his son and his descendants. But with the death of Charles the Fat in 887, the imperial line of the Carolingian kings of Italy ended. Italian-born kings were chosen, but the rivalry of the two competitors—Berengar of Friuli and Guido of Spoleto—again led to German intervention, and eventually the German Arnulf was crowned Emperor in 896. In the succeeding years kings from Provence and Burgundy contended with the native marquesses of Ivrea—Berengar II and Adalbert—and there were conspiracies and revolutions. It was in the early part of the tenth century that Hungarian hordes ravaged Italy, and Bologna suffered severely from their destructive attacks.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE COMMUNE—THE LOMBARD LEAGUE

Son le vicende umane
Da' fati avvolte in tenebroso velo.

METASTASIO.

OTTO of Saxony made a descent for the conquest of Italy in 961. The people, tired of the tyranny of Berengario of Ivrea, welcomed him and crowned him king: he marched on to Rome and was there crowned by the Pope with the Imperial crown in 962. Thus again there was a strong Emperor from beyond the Alps, and the idea began to take root that the king chosen by the German people should be of right king of Italy and Roman Emperor. It was not a peaceful sovereignty, and Otto had to return to Italy from his northern dominions in 967 to put down disturbances in Rome. He earned the title of Great. It was in his reign that the Communes of Italy laid the foundation for future growth in the privileges which he granted to them. The municipality was formed somewhat on the lines of the governments of Republican Rome and its colonies. There were two (sometimes

three) consuls, chosen by election of the people; the consuls were leaders in war, as well as judges within the city. The election of two consuls was usual in the other cities as well as in Bologna. Besides these two consuls for executive and legislative business there was the general assembly of the citizens which was summoned by the great bell to meet on the great piazza of the Palazzo del Comune. On the death of Otto III a dispute for the succession to the crown weakened the Imperial control over the towns. The cities Milan and Pavia made independent war on one another. Milan supported the German claimant Henry II of Bavaria. Pavia led the opposition which had chosen Arduino, Marquess of Ivrea, as king; the nobles of Lombardy favoured Arduino. Henry entered Italy and was crowned king in 1004, but he never had much real power, and the opposition of Arduino continued for some years.

The line of Emperors of the house of Franconia begins with Conrad, who was crowned in Rome in 1027. It was in the time of his grandson—Henry IV—that the great dispute began with the Popes over the question of Investitures. Gregory VII, the haughty Hildebrand, made a decree in 1075 against these investitures. The quarrel continued on into the next reign when it was settled by the Concordat of Worms, 1122, each side abating some part of its claims. With Henry IV we come in contact with the Countess Matilda,

daughter and heiress of Boniface, Count of Tuscany. She was a powerful supporter of the Popes, and helped them with troops and money. The Countess is of special interest in the story of Bologna from the fact that she so constantly employed the great lawyer Irnerius. In the wars between the Emperor and the Pope aided by Matilda, Bologna was on the side of the Pope. Henry's son obtained possession of Bologna in the first campaign for his father; but the Bolognese with the help of Matilda's troops drove out the Imperialists in 1098. When in 1115 the Countess Matilda died, she left her extensive dominions to the Pope. By this time Henry V had succeeded his father, and he was not willing to acquiesce in so large an addition to Papal power; he claimed such lands as Matilda had held under the Empire as a lapsed fief, and marching into Tuscany took possession of them. Henry held them as long as he lived; but later Popes renewed this claim.

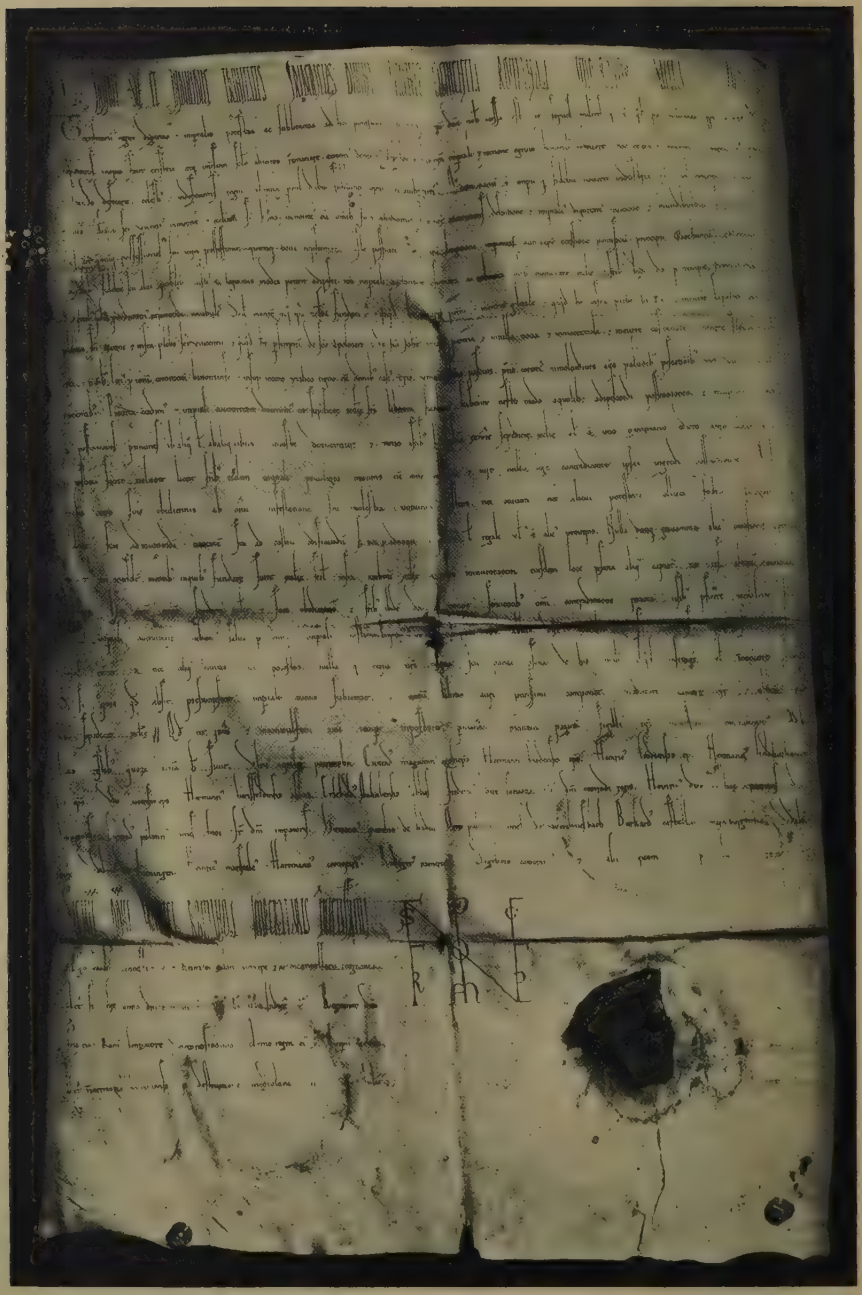
Henry V died in 1125. He left no children, and the succession to the Empire was disputed between two great families. The German Electors chose Lothar, duke of Saxony, and the Guelfs of Bavaria supported him. The rival candidate was Conrad, duke of Swabia, of the powerful house Hohenstaufen. The ancestral home of the Hohenstaufens was at Waiblingen. This corrupted into Ghibelin, gave the name to one of the two factions into which the cities of Italy

were divided throughout the Middle Ages. The Ghibelins were the supporters of the rights claimed by the Emperors of German race. The Welfs or Guelfs had already given support to Popes against the Empire. But this original position, as time went on, became confused by the intricacies of politics and rivalries in the various individual cities.

Conrad succeeded Lothair, and on his death his nephew Frederick was chosen Emperor. Frederick Barbarossa was elected in Germany in 1152, but he did not enter Italy till 1154. He was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, and by Hadrian IV as Emperor in Rome. Frederick had held a Diet at Roncaglia on his way down to Rome, and it already appeared that his conception of his Imperial rights and prerogatives was not in accordance with the free spirit that had been growing up in the Italian Communes. Milan had refused to yield him the ancient *regalian rights*—forage, food and lodging—when he passed through her territory. Frederick, taking Charles the Great and Otto the Great as his models, was bent on recovering and enforcing these Imperial rights that had fallen into abeyance through the vicissitudes of the rule of the House of Franconia. He was a strong man, prompt in counsel and eager for glory.

In 1158 the Emperor collected a large army in Germany, and again entered Italy. The troops of Pavia and other Ghibelin cities joined the

Emperor: Milan made a brave defence, but was forced to submit and make peace. Frederick held a second great Diet at Roncaglia in November of that year. There were present large numbers of Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, Consuls, and judges from various cities. The question of Imperial rights was debated, and the Bolognese legal doctors, Bulgaro, Martino, Ugo and Jacopo, were required to define those rights. From a study of Roman jurisprudence it was easy to find support for all that Frederick claimed:—Dukes, Counts and Consuls held their powers from the Emperor,—such was the strictly legal point of view. The lawyers also adjudged to him control of public ways, navigable waters, harbours, customs, fishings and many other sources of wealth. It was at this time that the Emperor granted the special privilege to students.[1] As a result of the judgment he himself appointed the Podesta for Bologna and other cities. Milan was soon again at war with the Emperor, and finally, after a valiant defence during a siege of many months, the people were forced to yield. The town was given up to the vengeance of its rivals in long years of fighting and was reduced to a heap of ruins: the inhabitants were dispersed. Bologna in its turn incurred the Imperial displeasure, when in 1164 the people killed the Podesta Bozzo, who had been appointed by Frederick: they were at length wearied by his cruelty and oppression. By this time there was a strong



CHARTER OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA

See chap. iii., note (1)

movement against the Emperor among the Communes of Northern Italy. Frederick too found his armies reduced, and judged it more prudent to return to Germany than to attempt to punish the Bolognese. Already Verona, Padua, Vicenza and Treviso had formed a league for mutual defence against the Emperor; and Venice soon joined the league. Frederick descended with a fresh army in 1166, and advanced against Rome; the next year he entered Bolognese territory to avenge the murder of Burni. After some deliberation an agreement was made, probably owing to the influence of those Bolognese doctors of law whose judgment at the Diet of Roncaglia had been of so much service to the Emperor. Frederick took hostages and returned to his operations against Ancona and Rome. But fever attacked his army before the walls of Rome, and it was necessary to retreat.

Early in 1167 representatives of the various cities of Lombardy met at the monastery of Pontida, near Bergamo, to negotiate for that confederation which became famous in history as the Lombard League. It was a union for mutual defence against the Emperor. The cities pledged themselves to help one another in case of war, and against any Imperial encroachment beyond the duties that had been required of them from the death of Henry till the coming of Frederick into Italy. One city was not to make peace or truce without the consent of the others; the

League was to continue for twenty years. This compact was solemnly ratified and signed on December 1st, 1167. It was under the protection of the Pope, and the whole of Northern Italy and great part of Central Italy were included in it. The first act of the League was to help the people of Milan to rebuild their city.

Frederick returned with another army in 1174, but he was checked by the brave defence of the new city of Alessandria till the advance of the army of the League compelled him to raise the siege. Negotiations for peace were unsuccessful. At last on May 29th, 1176, the two armies met at Legnano and a fierce battle was fought. The result was long in suspense; but the valour of the defenders of the Carroccio, and finally the charge of the compagnia della Morte, raising the cry of the oath of Pontida, "victory or death," at length broke and dispersed the Imperial hosts. The Imperial banner was captured, with Frederick's shield, lance, and cross; also much treasure, arms, horses and spoil of all kinds. Negotiations for peace followed this victory of the League. Frederick and Pope Alexander III met in Venice and were reconciled: with the cities Frederick concluded a truce for six years: at the expiration of this a definite peace was agreed upon; and the preliminaries were arranged in Venice. The peace was finally concluded and signed at Constance on April 30th, 1183. Frederick confirmed to the towns the independence of their government

within their walls, and the cities undertook to observe the ancient "regalian rights." Frederick took part in the Crusade, and died in the Holy Land in 1190. He was succeeded by his son Henry VI, who added to the Imperial crown the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, having married the daughter of King Roger. On the death of Roger's son Tancred and his eldest son in 1194, Henry succeeded in enforcing his claim to that kingdom: but he died in 1197. His son Frederick was then an infant, and his widow Constance acknowledged the Pope as feudal lord of Naples and Sicily. She too died the following year, leaving her little son to the guardianship of Pope Innocent III. When Frederick had nearly attained the age of eighteen many of the German princes being dissatisfied with the Emperor Otto IV, whom they had elected to succeed Henry, offered the Imperial crown to the young king. This was done with the approval of the Pope and caused much division amongst the cities that were usually Guelf or Ghibelin in their allegiance. Some Guelf cities followed the Pope in supporting the young prince of the Ghibelin race. Milan and some others, from enmity to the Swabian House, continued to fight for Otto. Pavia and most other Ghibelin cities gave their help to Frederick. The election as king of the Romans was duly effected at Frankfort in 1212. Otto was defeated by the French under Philip Augustus at the battle of Bouvines in 1214, and in 1218

he died. Frederick was crowned as Emperor by Pope Honorius III in 1220. He was a very able prince, and his wide learning and culture gave him breadth and capacities in thought far in advance of the standard of his time. He encouraged the arts and letters in his dominions, and attracted to his court men of distinction in learning and in poetry. The comparatively quiet years of the early part of his reign were devoted to the establishment of law and good government in his southern kingdom: he compelled the submission of the turbulent nobles and protected the weak. Frederick had promised to take part in the Crusades, but occupied with the affairs of his kingdom, he delayed for many years. Urged by the new Pope, Gregory IX, he at length set out, but an epidemic made it necessary to bring his troops back to Brindisi. The angry Pope excommunicated him and sought to revive the Lombard League to attack him. Frederick set out again, and by the help of negotiations with the Sultan he gained possession of Jerusalem. But the enmity of the Pope pursued him even here, and he was still under the ban of the Church. He placed the crown of Jerusalem on his own head, as no ecclesiastic would perform the ceremony. On his return to Italy he easily recovered his kingdom and dispersed the Papal armies. The treaty of S. Germano was made between the Emperor, the Pope and the Lombard League in 1230.

In 1234 Frederick was called into Germany

to put down the rebellion of his eldest son Henry. On his return into Italy he gained a decisive victory over the Milanese at Corte Nuova in 1237. Many Bolognese were killed and many taken prisoners in the fighting. But though for a time Frederick kept his enemies in check, trouble and failure were to follow. The Pope again excommunicated him and declared his subjects absolved from fidelity to him. Innocent IV, who succeeded to the Papacy in 1243, renewed the sentence at a Council at Lyons, and declared him deprived of the thrones of the Empire and of Naples and Sicily. Frederick found enemies on all sides. He sent his son Enzo, King of Sardinia, to re-establish his authority in the March of Verona and the district of Emilia. It was in this campaign that the battle of Fossalta was fought, so famous in Bolognese story. The whole force of the Bolognese was on the bank of the Panaro near to Ponte sant' Ambrogio. The army of Modena was on the other side between Fossalta and the Panaro. Besides the Modenese, Enzo had with him some German cavalry, troops from Cremona, Pavia, Reggio, and exiles from Ferrara and Piacenza. The Bolognese having received reinforcements, the captain began the attack on the morning of May 26th, 1249. Enzo met the charges with great valour. The fight continued through the day; it was only towards evening that the Imperial troops began to yield and break their order. Enzo's horse was killed under him, and he continued to fight desperately

on foot. He was surrounded by foes, and at last had to yield himself prisoner to Lambertino di Guido Lambertini, Michele degli Orsi, and Lambertolo Buttrigari. A very large number of prisoners were taken, many of them men of distinction: in all there were 400 cavalry captured and 1200 infantry. For a time Enzo was kept at Castelfranco, and then for a few days at the castle of Unzola till his prison in Bologna was ready. Then on August 24th all the prisoners were taken to Bologna in triumph. They entered by way of the Porta S. Felice, and Fra Leandro Alberti thus describes the scene: "And first of all the streets were decorated with green branches of trees, and with tapestries. Then all the Senate clothed themselves in their rich garments, as did also the ladies. All things being arranged the Senate sent many citizens mounted on horses as far as Unzola to meet the Captain, in order to conduct him to the city, into which he entered in the following order. First came the trumpets sounding the call to battle, then followed some squadrons of light cavalry. After them came the infantry, crowned with oak and marching five abreast, with the drummers and their banners, and dragging behind them on the ground the banners taken from the enemy in battle. They carried the spoils taken, rich garments, gold and silver vases, with other precious things, and in particular the Royal ornaments. Behind the infantry was drawn the Carroccio, with its oxen and

their driver all decorated with scarlet. On it was the standard with the arms of the Senate and the people of Bologna. The prisoners followed the Carroccio, chained two and two together, and last came King Enzo on a mule. There were many soldiers around the prisoners, taking care that they should not escape. Behind came the servants of the captain dressed in silk. Lastly the victorious Captain in flashing armour, with the baton in his hand and crowned with laurel, riding upon a white horse. Many squadrons of heavy armed cavalry accompanied the captain; they also were crowned with laurel and made a brave show. In such order the Captain entered the city, the trumpets, pipes and other instruments sounding before him. The crowd of people gathered at the gate to see this triumph was so great, that as the soldiers could not pass, it was necessary for the Gonfalonieri del popolo to make a way with their maces.

Everyone was eager to see the King with the other prisoners. Certainly it was a great sight to see first the spoils of the enemies, and then so many noble prisoners. But it was greater still to see King Enzo (who was but twenty-four years old), of fine form, with an angelic face, having light hair falling to his waist."

The Bishop and clergy stood at the gate to welcome the triumphant procession, singing hymns and giving thanks for the great victory. There was great rejoicing among the people, who acclaimed

the Podesta Philippo Ugoni and the leaders of the army Antonio Lambertazzi and Lodovico Geremei. Thus Bologna celebrated the victory, which probably had a far-reaching effect on the fate of Italy. Frederick tried to obtain the release of his son and threatened to compel it. But he died the following year—in 1250. His son Conrad succeeded him on the throne of Naples and Sicily, but he too and his young brother Henry died within four years. Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick, reigned first as Regent for his infant nephew Conradin, and then had himself elected king. But the Pope offered his kingdom to Charles of Anjou, and in 1266 Manfred was defeated and slain. The young Conradin was beheaded in Naples two years later. Enzo was then the sole survivor of the sons of Frederick II, the last prince of the house of Swabia: he had already been a prisoner for nearly twenty years. Perhaps had he been free to take his part in the struggles of his dynasty, his valour and personal influence might have retrieved the misfortunes which had clouded the last years of his father's life. He died still a prisoner in 1272 at the early age of forty-seven. For sixty years from the death of Frederick no Emperor entered Italy from Germany, no Emperor was crowned in Rome. The Communes were thus free to develop their institutions in their own way.

It was in one of the skirmishes of the war in which Enzo was made prisoner that occurred the

episode of the capture of the bucket, celebrated by Tassoni in his mock-heroic poem, "La secchia rapita." Taking advantage of the absence of the Bolognese forces in another direction, a party of Modenese carried off the bucket. The bucket still hangs in a chamber of the "campanile" of the Duomo of Modena. At Bologna an inscription on the well, a little way outside the Porta S. Felice, records the incident.

CHAPTER IV

GUELF RULE IN BOLOGNA, 1274–1327, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE RULE OF THE CHURCH

THE bitter animosity between rival factions is found in Bologna as in other Italian cities. The Guelfs and Ghibelins here were more usually known by the names of Geremei and Lambertazzi, two distinguished Bolognese families. The use of the names for the two parties originated when members of these rival families were the leaders of two bands of citizens departing for the Crusades. The Geremei were for the most part in power from 1274–1327. In 1274 large numbers of the defeated Lambertazzi were driven out from the city : their possessions were confiscated, and their houses razed to the ground. Among the exiles was the poet Guido Guinicelli, spoken of by Dante as " il Massimo." By degrees they contrived to return, but were driven out again in 1279. The city statutes are evidence of the many enactments against them. In 1282 those ordinances were compiled which became known by the name of the " ordinamenti sacrati sacratissimi," and were regarded by the people as the original security for popular liberty. They

did not change the form of government, but they secured more power to the people. It was enacted that those who were inscribed in the Guilds after 1274 should not have any office or take part in any council unless they exercised the trade with their own hands. These ordinances against the nobles are a little earlier in date than the Ordinamenti di giustizia of Giano della Bella in Florence. At this time two hundred members were added to the "Consiglio dei sei cento," so that it became the "Consiglio dei otto cento"; when joined with the popular council it was known as the "Consiglio degli otto cento e del popolo." The aim of the statutes against the nobles is described in an enactment of 1291 as—"volentes et intendentes quod lupi rapaces et agni mansueti ambulent pari gradu."

In the years 1293 to 1303 comes the great contest between the Commune of Bologna and the Lord of the neighbouring Ferrara—Azzo II d'Este. Already in the reign of his father Obizzo there had arisen the beginnings of this strife. And when Obizzo established his lordship over Modena, the jealousies and rivalries between that city and Bologna were combined with the other elements of discord. The fortune of war varied and finally in 1297 the new Pope, Boniface VIII. intervened in the contest. Benedetto Gaetani was a man of strong character, and when raised to the Papal throne he soon gave evidence of his intention to make himself the arbiter in the disputes of European nations, and of the great cities of Italy.

He first arranged a truce between Bologna and the Este ruler. Bologna had just renewed to Boniface the "dedizione" made to an earlier Pope. In the chronicle of Villola, under the year 1278, "the Bolognese gave their state and comitatum in perpetuity to our Lord the Pope, saving the rights which the Communes of Romagna should have." There were extensive negotiations and embassies to Rome, and the aid of Florence was invoked. Eventually on December 24th, 1299, the Pope pronounced sentence: ambassadors from Bologna had come to Rome to hear the decision. The two castles of Bazzano and Savignano, which had been specially in dispute since the conclusion of the truce, were given to Bologna. Modena had a money compensation and the restitution of some lands she had lost in the vicissitudes of war. So great was the gratitude of the people of Bologna for the favour shown them that a statue was decreed in honour of the Pope. It was made of copper gilt and was the work of the goldsmith Manno. It was the first memorial statue set up in Bologna, and was placed on the front of the Palazzo della Biada. Taken down from the Palazzo Pubblico in 1796, the statue is now in the Museo Civico. The later attempt of Azzo on Bologna, in January, 1303, entirely failed. Towards the close of this period the name of Romeo Pepoli becomes frequently associated with acts of government.

The Lambertazzi in conjunction with the

Bianchi secured a short term of rule from 1303 to 1306; but there were tumults in March of that year. The Lambertazzi were again driven out and subjected to fresh persecution. It was at this time that Romeo Pepoli came into prominence as the Guelf leader. But it was a time of tumults and unsettled politics, and twice Pepoli had to retire into exile. Popular government was not altogether a success. In 1325 came the serious defeat of the Bolognese at Zappolino in the war against Modena. Malatestino Malatesta, the commander of the army of Bologna, was taken prisoner. Continued troubles within the city and dangers without, including fear of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, induced the Bolognese to place themselves under the protection of the Church. The Council decided in 1327 to offer the government to Bertrand del Poggetto, the Papal Legate. But the rule of the Legate soon became oppressive, and he was driven out in 1334.

For three years political unrest continued. The rival parties were at this time known by the names of "Scacchesi and Maltraversi" from the arms of the two popular leaders. The chess-board pattern was the armorial emblem of the house of Pepoli; the irregular cross-bar that of the Gozzadini. Taddeo Pepoli was the son of Romeo: they were wealthy bankers, and Taddeo's liberality gave him influence with the people. Brandeligi Gozzadini was the representative of a distinguished and patriotic family. Taddeo Pepoli was chosen

Signore di Bologna with popular accalamation on August 28th, 1337, though many citizens were in favour of making Gozzadini their ruler. Taddeo assumed the modest title of " conservatore della pace," hoping thus to avoid incurring the disapproval of the Pope. But the Pope was bent on converting indirect protection into direct government. The Bolognese were excommunicated and placed under an interdict. There were negotiations for terms of peace. But the conditions brought to Bologna by the Nunzio encroached so seriously on municipal independence that the citizens protested. A second interdict followed in March, 1339. At last, through the intercession of Robert, king of Naples, the Papal interdict was removed in June. The Pope accepted the rule of Taddeo Pepoli as " Vicario della Chiesa " in Bologna.

Beltramino, the Papal Legate, came to Bologna in July, 1340, in August the citizens took the oath of fidelity to the Church, and on the 21st of that month Pepoli was duly nominated " Vicario " for three years. He ruled with a firm hand, and promoted the well-being of the city, and his lordship continued to the end of his life. Several years of scarcity culminated in 1347 in a terrible famine. The foresight of Taddeo had secured supplies of corn from Sicily, which earned for him the gratitude of the people. It was a year also of pestilence in Bologna and throughout Europe. Besides ruling well within the city, Taddeo was prudent in external relations, and he won for him-

self the titles of "il Magnifico," "Sapientissimo," "Valente," "Eccellentissimo," and of "Padre della patria." But the title that he himself most valued was that of "Conservatore della Pace e della Giustizia." He died on September 28th, 1347.

Giovanni and Giacomo the sons of Taddeo succeeded him in the Signoria: but they had little of his capacity. At this time the Visconti were Lords of Milan. They had extensive designs for the enlargement of their dominions in Northern Italy, with some thought even of extension to Florence. Bologna was a position of very great importance to them: but so long as Taddeo lived his government was too strong to be disturbed. With the feebler rule came the chance for the Visconti. When Giovanni Visconti in 1349 became temporal Lord as well as Archbishop of Milan, the two Pepolis visited Milan to congratulate him, and a compact was negotiated for the sale of Bologna to him. A few days later the cession was proposed in the great Council at Bologna and passed by a large majority of votes. As in the case of Taddeo Pepoli the Pope put forward his claims: there were threats, and finally excommunication and interdict. At last peace was arranged and Giovanni reigned over Bologna as Vicario della Chiesa. A little later he sent as his representative, with the title of Capitano del popolo,—Giovanni da Oleggio. The rule of this Governor was oppressive, and when in 1354 Giovanni

Visconti died, Oleggio became even more tyrannical, assuming independent lordship. At this time Cardinal Albornoz was recovering the States of the Church for the Pope, who was still an exile at Avignon. He advanced upon Bologna, strong with the prestige of victory. Within the city a strong party were in favour of submission to the Church. Oleggio had to make his choice between submission to Bernabo Visconti and making terms with the Church. He decided to treat with Cardinal Albornoz, and obtained for himself very favourable terms. The rule of the Church was again established in Bologna, but with provisions securing a large amount of freedom in municipal government. The Pope appointed the Podesta. Bernabo Visconti came with a large army to try to recover authority: but the Bolognese with their allies defeated him in an obstinate battle at S. Rofillo, not far from the city walls. In 1376 the Bolognese effected a return to independent Communal government, and drove out the Cardinal Legate. The following year a reconciliation with the Pope was effected and he appointed Giovanni da Legnano, a distinguished citizen, his Vicario.

The vicissitudes of Papal authority in Bologna were endless. In troublous times the citizens were glad of the protection of the nominal sovereignty of a strong Pope. But they were very jealous of interference in their municipal affairs. If the Papal representative, whether called Vicario or Legate, meddled or oppressed them the people

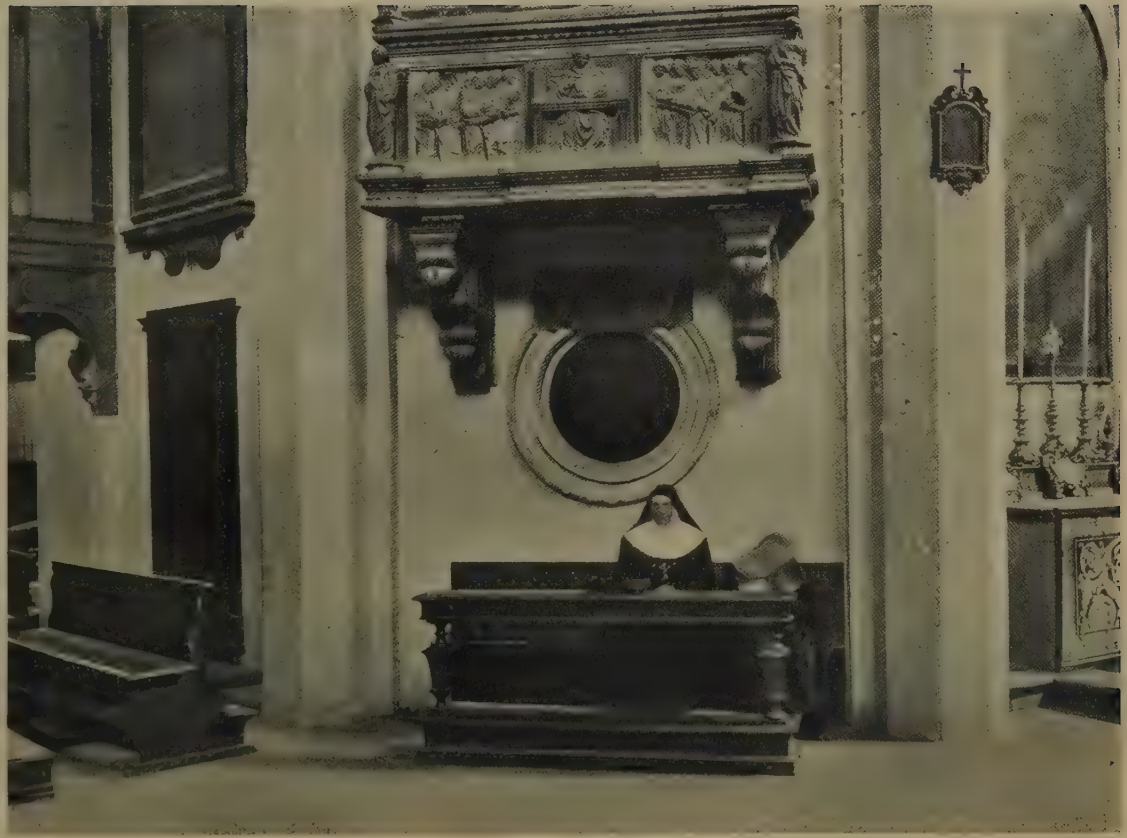
rose and drove him away. And when they made peace with the Pope there were stipulations for the independence of their municipal institutions. Under a strong ruler like Taddeo Pepoli, the Papal control was merely nominal.

It would be wearisome to attempt to trace in a slight sketch all the changes of government. Besides the claims of the Popes, there were the Visconti always desirous of establishing their authority over the city. The success of Cardinal Albornoz finally defeated their hopes. Through all subsequent changes the Papal claims retained a nominal recognition even when the Bentivoglio were exercising all real power. After the final expulsion of these popular rulers, the authority of the Church was continuously maintained till the Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century.

In 1401 we find the beginning of the influence of the Bentivoglio family in Bologna. Giovanni Bentivoglio and the noble Nanne Gozzadini were the rival leaders. Bentivoglio was acclaimed Signore as Giovanni I; but his power was of very short duration, and after failure in battle against the troops of the Visconti, he was murdered on June 30th, 1402. The influence of the family continued notwithstanding the enmity of the rival family of the Canetoli. In 1420 Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio nearly established his lordship. But the Pope opposed his pretensions. Enemies without were advancing to support enemies within the city.

and Anton Galeazzo agreed to retire to Castel Bolognese. After fifteen years in exile he obtained permission from the Pope to return. But the Governor, fearing his influence, caused him to be murdered on December 24th, 1435.

Annibale the son of Anton Galeazzo was born in 1413. He went with his father into exile and was educated away from his native city. He was an eloquent speaker and a man of culture. His military training was acquired under the leadership of the famous Michelozzo Attendoli. Annibale distinguished himself in the wars in the kingdom of Naples, fighting for Réné of Anjou against Alfonso of Aragon. His fame reached Bologna and the Bolognese, anxious for a leader to defend them from the oppression of the Governors sent by the Pope, invited Annibale to return. After much negotiation, he was persuaded. The citizens welcomed him with acclamation and conducted him to his father's house in via S. Donato. In 1441 Annibale married Donnina Visconti, daughter of Lancilotto, nephew of the duke of Milan. The arrival of the bride in Bologna was celebrated with great rejoicings. But it was not to a peaceful home that she came; for the conspiracies against her husband continued. On February 17th, 1443, a son was born to the young couple. At the time Annibale was a prisoner in the castle of Varano. The child was named Giovanni, and was the prince under whom, when he grew to man's estate, a brilliant



MONUMENT OF ANTONIO GALEAZZO BENTIVOGLIO

court was held in Bologna for more than forty years.

But the hatred of the Canetoli still pursued Annibale. There was a fresh conspiracy of the Canetoli and the Ghisilieri; and on June 24th, 1445, they succeeded in killing their victim. But Annibale was really popular, and a terrible retribution followed his death. The murderers and many of their relatives and friends who tried to shield them, were slain and their houses destroyed. The fine Bentivoglio tomb in the ambulatory of the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, was placed by this Annibale I Bentivoglio in memory of his father—Anton Galeazzo.

It is to this period of the rising power of the Bentivoglio family that a story belongs connecting Bologna with French history. It is said that in 1401 among those whom political complications forced into exile was one Ferrante Ghisilieri, a member of a noble family who were among the opponents of the Bentivoglio lordship. Ferrante took refuge at Greux, in the parish of Domremy, and there was born to him the daughter who became famous as Joan of Arc. The records are not clear as to whether his wife was of French origin, or whether she came with him from Italy. The chronicle of the Ghisilieri family gives the account of the birth of Joan, of her heroic exploits, and of her death; and the story has the support of two epitaphs in verse, one being a French one. There is also curious evidence in confirmation in

a fresco which was discovered in S. Petronio, in October, 1896: it is on the first pillar on the left, entering from the great Piazza. It is the picture of a fair-haired maiden in masculine attire, and archæological experts are of opinion that it represents Joan of Arc. The question naturally arises, What reason could there be for depicting the Maid of Orleans—not yet even declared "beata"—in a church in Bologna unless from the interest of her connection with a Bolognese family? The fresco probably dates from the second half of the fifteenth century. At that time the Ghisilieri family appear to have been reconciled with the ruling Bentivoglio, and it was then that they built their fine palace, now the Hotel Brun.

CHAPTER V

BENTIVOGLIO LORDSHIP ESTABLISHED

O Bentivoglio, Principe giocondo,
Più d'alcun altro in qualsivoglia etade
Tu ci mantieni per tua gran bontade
Pace e giustizia che sostenta il mondo.[1]

THE turbulent times needed a strong ruler, and the magistrates sought to secure one. The Regency was offered to Ludovico Bentivoglio, a knightly and greatly respected member of the family, but he refused. Several other noble citizens declined to undertake the burden. The son of Annibale was but three years old. In this difficulty it was remembered that there was another representative of the Bentivoglio race: this was Sante, the natural son of Ercole, and nephew of Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio, who was living quite obscurely in Florence. A messenger was sent to him, and he was invited to come and take the government for his infant cousin. Sante decided to accept the invitation and left Florence, carrying with him good wishes and much excellent advice from Cosimo de' Medici. He was welcomed in Bologna with much ceremony, and by prudence he soon won the friendship of many of the best

citizens. In 1447 there were negotiations with the new Pope,—Nicholas V; and the compact signed recognized the rights of the Church. The Pope had been educated at Bologna and was Bishop of the see when raised to the Papal throne, so was well disposed towards its citizens, and relations were amicable. Sante continued to exercise supreme power, though constantly threatened by conspiracies.

In 1454 Sante married Ginevra, daughter of Alessandro Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, and niece of the Duke of Milan. She was but twelve years old, beautiful and proud. Representatives of the Venetian Republic, the Duke of Milan, the Duke of Ferrara, the Lord of Faenza, and nobles of Florence and Siena were invited to the wedding. The crowds that welcomed the brilliant cortège escorting the young bride had no foreboding of the trouble she would help to bring on Bologna, or of the misfortunes that would cloud her own later years, after a long life of dignity and splendour.

Pope Pius II visited Bologna in May 1459; but a great display of military force was needed to maintain order in the city. The Pope's own reflection as to the efficacy of his authority as wielded by his deputy,—the Legate—was,—"Legatum admisit qui verius ligatus appellari potuit."

In 1460 Sante began to build that palace which under his successor became one of the most magnificent in Northern Italy. The beginning was made by the purchase of sixteen houses near to

his own in the via de' Castagnoli. These were pulled down, and the building was planned on this large space between the via S. Donato and the Borgo della Paglia. Pagno, a celebrated architect, came from Florence to design the palace.

A son—Ercole—was born to Sante in 1460. But the peace and prosperity of the three following years was disturbed by suspicions and conspiracies, and in October 1463 Sante died. The honours decreed to his memory by the Senate testify to the success of his government. The Latin epitaphs composed by Mario Filelfo and others give him the titles "Padre della Patria, onore del popolo, splendore del Senato" and declare that he was second to none in discretion, eloquence and dignity.

Giovanni II at once succeeded to power, but with no princely title. Though only twenty years of age he was elected Gonfaloniere di Guistizia,—the supreme magistrate,—for the last "bimestre" of the year 1463. He at once turned his attention to the improvement of the city; the roads were paved with stone and the drainage was reconstructed. His able government soon secured for him the love and esteem of his fellow citizens, and great consideration among the princes of Italy. In May 1464 Giovanni married his cousin's widow Ginevra, having obtained a dispensation from the Pope. Ginevra was a few months older than himself, but still only twenty-two years of age. The marriage connected Giovanni with Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the next year he visited the Duke

by whom he was welcomed with much distinction.

Giovanni did not neglect to assure the Pope of his own and his people's devotion to the Church. But when in August 1464 Paul II succeeded Pius II, he was bent on securing more direct control. He at first refused to sign the articles which would secure to him the annual tribute and the right to send a Legate to Bologna. But at last, after much negotiation and a fresh embassy, Pope Paul consented to sign, perhaps partly moved thereto by the knowledge that the Bolognese had secured military support from the Duke of Milan.

The agreement was embodied in "Capitoli" and signed in 1466. Among other conditions it was agreed that the Senate should consist of twenty-one members, Giovanni Bentivoglio being its "capo" with two votes. These "Capitoli" were received by the Senate with much satisfaction, and the agreement with the Pope was announced the following day (February 1st) from the Renghiera amidst public rejoicing. Through all the rule of Giovanni II Bentivoglio the struggle continued between the Papal authority and the civic authority as represented by the powerful head of the State, who held his ground against seven successive Popes. Both Giovanni and the Senate acknowledged the nominal rights of the Church; but they wished to be quite independent in their domestic affairs, and continued the Bolognese tradition of safeguarding their civic rights in any compact made

with the Papacy. And in their acts they took care to make their independence effective. Giovanni gradually consolidated his power, and in 1471 G. B. Savelli, the Papal Governor, having left Bologna, tells Pope Paul II that it is useless for him to return as everything is done at the will of Giovanni Bentivoglio.

Giovanni was in constant correspondence with the Signori of the neighbouring states; he was an honoured guest at the brilliant courts of Milan and Ferrara. As the son of Donnina Visconti, Giovanni was already related to the princely house of Milan, and as his children grew up, friendly relations with that and other ruling houses were cemented by marriages connecting him with the Sforzas, the Estes, and with other neighbouring "Signori."

Giovanni was appointed by Francesco Sforza "Capitano ducale" in 1465, with a salary of 7,000 ducats a year. He assisted Piero de' Medici when he was threatened in 1466 by conspirators from within the city of Florence joined by outside enemies. And in the following year he was in the league with Ferdinand of Naples and the Duke of Milan for the assistance of Piero. Bolognese troops were in the army that fought for Piero at Riccardina, under the leadership of Frederick of Urbino, on July 25th, 1467. The battle lasted eight hours and only night put an end to the conflict. The result was indecisive, and soon an armistice was concluded. It was a time when all Italy was in

arms, each prince hoping to enrich himself with the spoils of some of the others. The first attempts in the direction of peace failed. But the efforts of the Pope were more successful, and on February 2nd, 1468, peace was proclaimed in the form of a Papal decree. All parties subscribed to it; but neither Florence nor Venice had derived any advantage from the contest, and no conquests had been made on either side. The Florentine exiles were abandoned and left out of the compact.

In the severe winter of 1470 Giovanni mitigated the distress of the poor by wise liberality, and by giving employment in useful work for the city. Like other fifteenth century princes he amused the people with the splendour of a tournament. It was fixed for S. Petronio's day, October 4th, and was held in the great piazza. The amphitheatre was constructed, the seats being covered with tapestry, and the whole adorned with curtains, and festoons of flowers and greenery.

The Duke of Milan sent as a present to Giovanni eight beautiful chargers, richly caparisoned with embroidery of silk and gold. They were led by eight pages dressed in crimson. Crowds of visitors came from Tuscany and Lombardy to see the show. In the tournament the red squadrons were led by Antonio Trotti, the white by Giovanni himself. Over his polished steel armour Giovanni wore a sur-coat of white damask on which were figured helmed lions seated over flames, and holding between their claws a stick with two buckets. He

was mounted on a splendid bay horse, adorned with white material covered with lions. A page carried his helmet which was adorned with silver embroidery and ostrich plumes: its crest was a golden lion "naissant" from the flames, with the motto "non vuole amore ma forza." Giovanni was adjudged the victor. The Florentine, Francesco Cieco, gave an account of this tournament in a poem of 412 stanzas. A manuscript copy of this poem exists in the University Library: it is adorned with miniatures and has on its first page the Bentivoglio arms. It is probably the copy presented by the author to Giovanni. Azzoguidi printed this poem in 1471, but it is an extremely rare book. In the words of the Bolognese chronicler, Burselli: "The tournament in the piazza of Bologna was held with such splendour of clothing and arms, that Roman antiquity seemed to have been revived." By entertainments and by splendid hospitality to many princely guests, Giovanni increased his popularity with the people.

Ercole I succeeded Borso as Duke of Ferrara in 1471, and soon the friendly relations between the House of Este and Bologna were disturbed. The quarrel arose over Bolognese defences on the Panaro, near to the Ponte S. Ambrogio and other points memorable as battle grounds in the days of King Enzo and the early contests between Bologna and Modena. The Bolognese repaired some palisades, which had become ruinous from age, around the tower which marked their boundary on the right

bank of the Panaro. Ercole caused them to be thrown down in the night. The indignant Bolognese sent infantry, cavalry, artillery and workmen to the spot; the repairs were speedily renewed and a fortress erected and garrisoned. The Este ruler, feeling his security threatened, negotiated for aid from the King of Naples and the Signoria of Venice; but the Bolognese would agree to no terms, and the controversy continued for three years. At last by the intervention of the Pope an agreement was arrived at: it was promoted by the good offices of the Duke of Milan, who was on very friendly terms with Giovanni Bentivoglio. After protracted negotiations a compact was signed on October 14th, 1474. It was declared that the jurisdiction of Bologna extended to the right bank of the Panaro in this district, in token whereof the Bolognese were permitted to erect a pillar by the bridge on the Castelfranco side of the river, and to place on the pillar the arms of Holy Church and of the Commune of Bologna. The fortress was to be pulled down, and it was agreed that neither party might erect a fortress within 300 "pertiche" or poles of the bank of the river. There were other minor conditions, and the whole of the articles were to be understood "a bono, et sano intellecto, ac bona fide, et sine fraude."

It was during the course of these negotiations, in 1473, that Giovanni obtained fresh privileges from the Pope, Sixtus IV,—the right to make notaries and doctors, and other princely preroga-

tives. And in 1474 Giovanni secured authority from the Pope to appoint his young son Annibale his eventual successor in the " Primato del Senato."

The agreement with Ercole was cemented by the arrangement of a marriage between Giovanni's eldest son Annibale and Lucrezia, Ercole's natural daughter : both the betrothed being as yet but children. In 1474 little Annibale was made a knight by the Danish king Christian. And in the same year Giovanni joined the league between Venice and Florence, which had been formed as a counterpoise to the close alliance between Sixtus IV and the King of Naples.

The murder of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, in December 1476, was followed in April 1478 by the conspiracy of the Pazzi in Florence, and the murder of Giuliano de' Medici. Alarmed at the disturbed state of Italy consequent on these revolutionary excesses, the Senate decided to raise troops of mercenary soldiers, which were placed under the command of Giovanni Bentivoglio, with Virgilio Malvezzi, and Carlo Fantuzzi also as officers.

Ghirardacci notes that it was in 1480 that Giovanni II began first to be called " Signore " by the people. This was in the rejoicings on his return from the visit to Milan, during which the Duke and his mother—Bona—had given him the castle of Chovo with its adjoining lands, bestowing on him the title of Duke of Attignago, with succession to his sons.

In 1482 war broke out between Venice and Ferrara. Giovanni promptly advanced to help his ally,—Duke Ercole—with 3000 infantry, some archers and other troops. Some of these men were undisciplined, and there were complaints of their behaviour in plundering. But the troops led by Giovanni were very useful at the passes of Codigoro. Florence and Milan were on the side of Ferrara, and the Duke of Urbino joined the league and took command. The league met with reverses; but the position was suddenly transformed by an unexpected change in the attitude of the Pope. Sixtus became jealous and suspicious of the power of the Venetians, and in November agreed to a truce with the King of Naples. This was followed by a peace concluded between the Pope and all the allies on December 12th, 1482. Venice held out and defied almost all Italy, so the war dragged on.

The agreement between Bologna and the Papacy was signalized in 1483 by the Pope conferring the dignity of Protonotary on Giovanni's second son, Antonio Galeazzo, a boy only eleven years old: and by Giovanni undertaking to hold an army of 400 men ready for the service of the Pope in consideration of a salary of 5000 ducats a year. Again in this year Giovanni had organized great festivities and sports. But ever behind the prosperity and the festivities was the threatening background of conspiracy. At the close of this same year 1483 there came as Bishop to Bologna, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who less than twenty years later as

Pope effected the downfall of the Bentivoglio family.

Annibale Bentivoglio paid a visit to Ferrara in 1485, to court his bride. Lucrezia was growing up; she had been carefully educated by the Duchess Leonora together with her own daughters Isabella and Beatrice. Like them she enjoyed the advantages of the instructions of Guarini. The archives of Modena show a letter[2] from Duke Ercole to Giovanni Bentivoglio, written at this time and speaking in praise of his intended son-in-law. Annibale was in fact a valiant knight and skilled in the knightly accomplishments of his age. He was at one time Captain under the Duke of Milan, and when just after his marriage, he held a command for the Florentines, he distinguished himself in the war against Genoa. His men were devoted to him, and in his first expedition he assisted in capturing the Castello of Sarzano for Florence, and by his valour gained great credit among the princes of Italy.

At last the date of the marriage was fixed for January 28th, 1487. There were great preparations for the reception of the bride. The city was gaily decorated and there were many distinguished guests. Duke Ercole was there with his court, the Marquis of Mantua, the Bishop of Urbino and the Bishop of Gravina representing the Pope; ambassadors of the King of Naples, of the Duke of Milan, and of Lorenzo de' Medici. The Lord of Rimini represented the Venetian Republic, and

various rulers of lesser states sent distinguished representatives. In all there were some 3000 visitors in Bologna. Francia prepared a magnificent service of plate for the occasion. The festivities lasted several days with games, tournaments and spectacles of all kinds. Nor were religious observances forgotten: there was a thanksgiving service in S. Petronio.

In 1488 came the conspiracy of the Malvezzi. It was discovered: Giovanni Malvezzi and Giacomo Bargellini were condemned to death, and in the disturbances that followed there was much bloodshed in the city. As soon as news of this plot to murder the whole Bentivoglio family became known throughout Italy, the Pope and all the great princes hastened to send letters or ambassadors to express their sympathy and their congratulations on the fortunate escape from the treacherous attempt. There were rejoicings in Bologna itself, and on December 8th a solemn service of thanksgiving in the Church of Sª Maria dei Servi. It was to commemorate this escape from assassination that Giovanni commissioned Lorenzo Costa to paint a fresco for him in the Bentivoglio chapel of S. Giacomo Maggiore. It represents the Madonna and Child enthroned: Giovanni and his wife are kneeling on either side of the Madonna, and below the father stand the four sons, and the seven daughters below the mother.

Annibale represented his father at the marriage of Duke Gian Galeazzo with Isabella daughter of

SAN GIACOMO MAGGIORE, BEFORE THE OLD CITY WALL WAS RESTORED TO VIEW

the Duke of Calabria, in February 1489, and took part in the festivities at Milan. In the same year, Giovanni wishing that his son might succeed "nel governo della Republica uomo pratico" caused Annibale to be elected Gonfaloniere di Guistizia. It was in this year also that Francesco Pedocca della Mirandola, Rector of the University, arranged a most splendid tournament.

In 1492 Alessandro, the third son of Giovanni II, married Ippolita Sforza, niece of the Duke of Milan. And the next year the politic Ludovico il Moro, seeing how powerful Giovanni had become in Bologna, made him Captain of all the Milanese forces on this side of the Po. The "Stendardo del Capitaneato" which he sent to Bologna was received with great ceremony.

One of Giovanni's great schemes for the benefit of his country was in progress at this time. He planned to connect Bologna with Ferrara and the Po by a really navigable canal. The beginnings of the canal existed in that branch of the Canale del Reno which issues from the city between the Porta Lamé and the via del Porto, quite close to the latter. But it was only practicable for vessels from Corticella. In 1491 Giovanni engaged an engineer from Milan, and in three years the work was completed. The canal was widened and made navigable for an added three miles, and improved throughout its whole course, with a port constructed in Bologna itself. There were great ceremonies over the opening of the port. Giovanni went to Corticella

taking with him Galeotto Malatesta Signor of Rimini, Count Nicolo Rangone, Gilberto Pii, his own sons, and many senators and gentlemen. A beautiful Bucentaur, newly constructed, was in waiting: over it waved four pennons with the arms of the Bentivoglio, the Church, the city and people of Bologna, and of the Duke of Milan; and it was draped with magnificent tapestries.

The party had ridden out from Bologna; and they now passed to the newly constructed highway. The rowers of the Bucentaur and of the barks were assisted by horses, for all the weight had to be drawn against the stream. The Bucentaur was preceded and followed by a procession of boats carrying merchandise, and some citizens also followed in barks. The gay cortège was welcomed at Bologna by an exultant multitude numbering some ten thousand. The Bishop, the clergy, and the civic dignitaries had come in procession and were ready for the arrival at the port. The Bishop sprinkled with holy water and blessed the Bucentaur that had first traversed the new water-way, whilst the clergy sang the Ambrosian hymn. The great day was January 10th, 1494. At a time when roads were bad, the advantage of this new highway for commerce and friendly communications was very great.

Later in the same year new privileges were conferred on the Bentivoglio by the Emperor Maximilian I, who had recently succeeded his father. Giovanni and his sons were made Counts Palatine,

and Counts and members of the Holy Roman Empire. Maximilian also conferred on them the right to quarter the black Imperial eagle with the "sega" in their arms; the right to coin money, to make knights, and also doctors in all faculties, with other princely privileges. The "privilegio" is dated October 19th, 1494. The change in the Bentivoglio quarterings may be observed from this period.

Annibale was busy in 1497 building the Casino della Viola, as a suburban pleasure house, and many new palaces were arising in Bologna at the same time. Innocenzo Francucci and other artists adorned the Casino with frescoes.

In 1498 Louis XII succeeded Charles VIII on the throne of France. Having concluded a league with the Pope, Duke Valentino, and the Venetians against Ludovico Sforza, the next year he crossed the Alps and was soon in possession of Milan. Giovanni hastened to send Annibale to congratulate the victor on acquiring the Lordship of Milan, and to ask his protection for Bologna. And this though Bolognese troops had but just been recalled from helping the fugitive Moro. So grievously rapid in those days of intrigue were the changes of faith and allegiance. Annibale returned with the Duke of Este in his Bucentaur to Ferrara, and thence by ship along the new canal to Bologna.

A time of trouble and anxiety was now beginning. The operations of Duke Valentino and his ambitious designs in Romagna were a constant

menace to Bologna through the years 1500, 1501 and 1503. Negotiations were frequent with the Duke and with his father, Pope Alexander VI. At last terms were agreed upon and confirmed by the Pope in 1503, concluding peace between the Pope, Duke Valentino and the Bentivoglio.

Later in the same year, on November 1st, 1503, Giuliano della Rovere became Pope, taking the name of Julius II. He was a man of great energy and strong character; able in politics, and a warrior. Julius was determined to assert his authority and to rule effectively in all the States of the Church. But there were obstacles to acting immediately with vigour.

In Bologna itself the time was full of portents. On the last day of 1504, and on several days in January, March and May, 1505, there were terrible earthquakes in the city and the country round. On January 3rd the shocks were so severe that many of the Bentivoglio left the palace; only Ermes, the Orsini and Giovanni remained. Giovanni seeing the tower of his palace severely shaken, had the greater part of it taken down, lest it should fall. Many houses did fall, many people were killed, and numbers left their homes to wander in the streets. Fasting and prayers were appointed, and the most sacred relics were carried in processions unusually long and devout to intercede for the protection of God against these terrors. At last the earthquakes ceased, and thanksgiving was offered. In memory of deliverance from these

earthquakes Giovanni commissioned Francia and other artists to decorate the chapel of Sª Cecilia with beautiful frescoes. It was also at this time that Francia painted the votive "Madonna del terremoto" now transferred to the wall of the sala d'Ercole in the Palazzo Pubblico.

Pope Julius was finally ready for the attack on Perugia and Bologna in August, 1506: and Perugia was very quickly reduced to submission. The Pope then advanced with his army into Bolognese territories. The Senate negotiated with the Pope, but no agreement was arrived at, and Giovanni was excommunicated and Bologna placed under an interdict. Some attempt at defence was made, Annibale Bentivoglio being placed in command. But the French, as well as the Pope, were threatening Bologna, and Giovanni seeing that he could not successfully resist both, left the city, and his sons went with him. The French king, Louis, had an army encamped outside Bologna, and it was by arrangement with the French General Chaumont that Giovanni made his escape. He was escorted to Busseto.

But though the Bentivoglio departed the people of Bologna prepared to defend the city against the French, and there was some fighting. The people cried "Chiesa, Chiesa!" for they were willing to make terms with the Pope. Eventually negotiations were concluded for the departure of the French troops, the Bolognese agreeing to send them provisions which they greatly needed.

On November 11th Pope Julius made his solemn entry into Bologna with great pomp and the welcoming acclamations of the populace. Francia was employed to make a special coinage of money, which was thrown to the people. It bore the inscription,—BON. P. IUL. A. TIRANO LIBERAT. Bononia per Julium a Tyranno liberata, around St Peter; and on the obverse the arms of the della Rovere, and round them JULIUS II. PON. MAX. The Pope proposed to place the whole power in the hands of his Legate. But the magistrates pressed with firmness their claims to their ancient liberties. Julius, who was a man of generous mind, agreed to confirm the concordat of Nicholas V. Thus Bologna continued her magistrates and form of government, with the obligation to obtain the sanction of the Legate for their acts. The Senate was increased to number forty members, with the name of "Riformatori."

After the departure of Julius for Rome the adherents of the Bentivoglio began to plot for the restoration of Giovanni. But discovery led to their banishment, and some were put to death. As a result of this failure came the destruction of the splendid palace of the Bentivoglio. The proposition was made by two bitter enemies of the family. The Council of Forty, the Legate and the Pope gave their consent. On May 3rd, 1507, the destroying band was led by the two fierce foes on horseback, bearing torches. Many valuables and treasures of art were carried away by the crowds let

loose on the palace. But more were destroyed. The walls even were pulled down, and soon the whole magnificent building and its contents were consumed in the flames. The site remained a waste for 250 years, the memory of which is perpetuated in the little via del Guasto. In 1756 the Senate purchased the site from the Marquis Guido Bentivoglio of Aragon, and on part of it the Teatro Comunale was erected, A. G. Bibiena being the architect. It was completed in 1766.

Of all the palatial buildings only part of the stables on the opposite side of the via Zamboni remains. Stores of wooden planks are now piled among the pillars that support the vaulting of this building.

The vast palace itself had contained 244 rooms, besides small "gabinetti." The façade of the palace was towards the Strada S. Donato, now called the via Zamboni. There were five "cortili" and two gardens with fountains. It is said that the palace cost 150,000 scudi, or gold ducats, to build, which Count Gozzadini estimates as worth 6,600,000 lire of the money of his day (1839).

The fall of the Bentivoglio was sudden and the story of it is not heroic. The chronicler tells of stores of treasure sent safely out of the city, and borne by 80 "carri," and 140 mules, the French General having guaranteed its safety in transport. But Giovanni had not only secured the aggrandizement of himself and his family: he had promoted the security and prosperity of the State. His genial

manners and statesmanlike abilities had secured the goodwill of the members of the Senate, and he had led them to undertake much work for the public good. He had achieved this without the definite mandate of princely election and title, by personal influence. That influence seems to have been continuously paramount and undisputed, except by the plots of conspirators. The correspondence with the House of Este which exists in the archives of Modena, shows intercourse on equal terms with that ruling family. The letters from Giovanni are preserved, those of the Este family survive in the Este minutes of correspondence.[2]

Giovanni's liberal patronage of art had attracted gifted artists from Ferrara and other cities, foremost among them Lorenzo Costa. It was for Giovanni and his sons that much of the native Bolognese Francia's finest work was done. In other arts there were the sculptors Nicolo da Bari, and Sperandio who was invited by Giovanni and became his medallist; he has also left much fine sculptured ornament in Bologna. Another great sculptor was Francesco di Simone, who carved the fine tomb of Tartagni. Among the architects were the native Fieravanti, and Pagno da Fiesole the architect of the Bentivoglio palace. Giovanni welcomed distinguished Humanists at his court, among them Francesco and Gio. Maria Filelfo, the two Beroaldi, Guarini and Giovani Aurispa. Giovanni himself wrote elegant Latin. The poet Sabadino degli Arienti in his verses was perhaps

too adulatory in his praise of the Bentivoglio family. But they had done much for the prosperity and splendour of the city. The Bologna from which Giovanni fled was a much finer and better ordered city than the Bologna of the first years of his rule. The magnificent palace which he completed was one of the finest in Italy, and was said to be " luogo degno d'imperatori." It was adorned with beautiful frescoes by Francia and Lorenzo Costa. Within it were collected, besides magnificent furniture, treasures of art of all kinds. Public buildings had been restored. The fine portico of S. Giacomo Maggiore, and that of the Barracano had been built. Piazzas had been enlarged. For a time after the first attempt at restoration Giovanni was imprisoned in the Castello at Milan. Soon after his release he died in Milan an exile and alone, on February 13th, 1508: he was buried in S. Maurizio. His wife Ginevra had died on May 16th, 1507, at Busseto.

Many things must be taken into account in attempting to arrive at a fair estimate of the character of Giovanni II Bentivoglio. In the difficult politics of the time he had kept Bologna free from foreign occupation: when the armies of Charles VIII were passing southwards to Florence, he agreed to allow them passage through Bolognese territory, but the troops were not to enter Bologna. His care for the poor had earned their gratitude. When the critical time of the Papal attack came, Giovanni's departure from Bologna left the citizens

free to make peace with the Pope, whose displeasure was directed chiefly against the Bentivoglio family.

It is a strong face that the sculptor has carved for us in the portrait of Giovanni in bas-relief in the Bentivoglio chapel. Another similar portrait is carved on the capital of a pillar of the "portici" of the Casa Bellei in the via Galliera. But it is not an attractive face; there is hardness in the firm line of the mouth, though the eyes suggest a sense of humour. Ghirardacci says he was of middle stature, large boned and "fleshy": the long straight hair was light coloured. He adds that he was by nature kindly and courteous, of great capacity, and gifted with a wonderful memory, but with a slight stammering in his speech. The loss of popularity during the last years of Giovanni's rule was partly due to indignation at the murder of the Marescotti who had conspired against him. His son Ermes collected and led a band of men for this act of vengeance, being, it seems, urged on by his mother, Ginevra. Ginevra is accused of haughtiness and cruelty, and many charges are made against the sons of Giovanni. These probably deserve as little implicit belief as the high-flown praises of many sonnets and longer poems written in the days of Bentivoglio prosperity.[3] The proclamations against the fallen house made use of any material calculated to supply some justification for the expulsion of a long established ruler, without any attempt at judicial discrimination. The Bentivoglio were probably neither so great as their

CORNER COLUMN OF CASA BELLEI

admirers would have us believe, nor so depraved as their detractors represented them to be. They certainly were no worse, if not greatly better than the princely rulers of the other great cities of Italy in their day. The long rule of over forty-three years, testifies at least to capacity in Giovanni II.[4] It cannot be paralleled in length by the reign of any contemporary Prince or Lord in Italy.

In 1511 Annibale made an attempt to recover the Lordship of Bologna, and on May 21st, with French aid, succeeded in gaining entry into Bologna. The statue of Pope Julius, which had been cast by Michelangelo and placed over the great door of S. Petronio, was broken to pieces by the people. But his success was of short duration.[5] In 1512 was fought the battle of Ravenna in which Gaston de Foix lost his life, though the victory was his. But the Pope was too powerful and the French were not strong enough to follow up the victory. Annibale found that he must leave Bologna, the citizens being ready to accept, by agreement, the rule of the Church. He made three later attempts to return to Bologna, the last in 1527, but without success.

CHAPTER VI

PAPAL RULE IN BOLOGNA—THE CORONATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V—THE STUARTS IN BOLOGNA

THE warlike Pope—Julius II—died on February 21st, 1513, aged 62. He had been a patron of artists and had encouraged learning. He was succeeded by Leo X of the House of Medici. Two years later Francis I came to the throne of France. He claimed Milan in right of his wife, and promptly crossed the Alps to establish his authority. After his victory at Marignano in the "Battle of the Giants," the League being defeated, the Pope opened negotiations for alliance with Francis. It was proposed that the Pope and the King should aid each other in the defence of their respective dominions, and that Francis should protect Florence and the Medici. There was some difficulty in inducing the Pope to consent to the King's claim to keep Parma and Piacenza, but he insisted that they were a necessary part of the state of Milan. To confirm this peace it was proposed that a meeting should take place between Leo and Francis. Bologna was chosen, and great preparations were made for the reception. The meeting took place in December 1515.

Another event in Bologna of more than ordinary historical importance was the coronation of the Emperor Charles V. Charles succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand as king of Spain in 1516. On the death of the Emperor Maximilian in 1519, Charles and Francis were the rival candidates for the Imperial throne. The Electors chose Charles, who besides Spain and Austria, included the Low Countries and the Two Sicilies in his dominions, and new territories across the Atlantic. But it was some years before the Emperor was crowned in Italy. The war of the Holy League was at last ended by the peace of Cambray. Pope Clement had already made peace with Charles in June 1529, promising to crown him as Emperor, and to invest him with the kingdom of Naples. Charles undertook to secure to the Pope Cervia and Ravenna that he claimed from the Venetians, and from the Duke of Ferrara Modena and Reggio, and to support the Medici in Florence.

It was arranged that the coronation should take place at Bologna. On August 12th, 1529, Charles landed at Genoa with a distinguished cortège of nobles. From thence he passed to Piacenza, and there he awaited messages from the Pope, as it was right by custom that His Holiness should be the first to arrive at the place of meeting. On October 24th Pope Clement entered Bologna by the Porta Maggiore. He was met by the civic dignitaries, who escorted him into the city. A magnificent welcome had been prepared for him: the way to

the great piazza was decorated with triumphal arches, historical bas-reliefs and inscriptions. The Holy Father received deputations and gave his blessing to the people. Charles V approached Bologna on November 4th, and was entertained for that night in the monastery of the Certosa. Next day he made his entry into Bologna by the Porta S. Felice. His route too was lined with arches and laudatory inscriptions. Arrived at the great piazza, Charles dismounted from his horse and did homage to the Pope, who blessed him, embraced and kissed him. A suite of rooms had been prepared for Charles in the Palazzo Pubblico, near to those of the Pope.

During the next few months Bologna was crowded with many distinguished guests, besides the many personages of importance who came in the suites of the two great rulers who represented the long tradition of authority in Christendom. The suites were very numerous, and sometimes the haughty bearing of the Spaniards offended the independent spirit of the citizens and led to disturbances. The most distinguished guests were entertained in the palaces of the nobles. Isabella, Marchesana of Mantua, arrived in Bologna four days before the Emperor and was lodged in the Palazzo Manzoli in via S. Donato. This palace is comprised within the building reconstructed in the eighteenth century and now known as the Palazzo Malvasia (via Zamboni 16).

Federico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, arrived on

November 20, and two days later Francesco Sforza II Duke of Milan.

There were conferences and negotiations in the weeks that followed the meeting of the Emperor and the Pope. At last an agreement on the various interests involved was arrived at. On the last day of the year a solemn mass was celebrated in S. Petronio, and the conditions of the agreement were read out from the pulpit in the presence of the distinguished princes, dukes and other dignitaries. After the ceremony the peace was publicly proclaimed from the "ringhiera degli Anziani" of the Palazzo Pubblico, announced by the sound of trumpets and other instruments. It was welcomed with general rejoicing, the ringing of bells and the thunder of artillery.

Towards the end of December ambassadors had come from Florence, but they did not find either Pope or Emperor at all favourable to the wishes of the Republic.

The date for the Imperial coronation[1] of Charles was finally fixed for February 24th—his birthday. Other distinguished guests continued to arrive, among them Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno, who was lodged in the Palazzo Malvezzi da San Sigismondo. Cardinal Spinola stayed in the Palazzo Malvezzi; the great Spanish general Antonio De Leyva, in the Palazzo Marescotti; the Duke of Urbino and the Marchese del Vasto in the Palazzo Rossi; the Duke of Bavaria in the Palazzo Riari-Sforza; the Marchese d'Astorga and

Prince Doria in the Palazzo Bolognetti, opposite the portico dei Servi; the Duca d'Alba in the Palazzo Felicini; Prince Gian-Francesco Pico della Mirandola in the Palazzo Cospi; and the historian Guicciardini in the Palazzo of the Bottrigari.

The iron crown of Lombardy was brought from Monza by an embassy of distinguished citizens with two canons of the Duomo of Monza. On February 22nd, two days before the great ceremony in S. Petronio, there was a solemn service in the Cappella degli Anziani in the Palazzo Pubblico. The Emperor came attended by a very numerous retinue of officials and nobles and many distinguished Italians and foreign guests were present. After the first part of the service which included the anointing of the "King of the Romans," the Pope entered the Chapel accompanied by many Cardinals and Prelates. With due ceremony the sword, the sceptre and the sphere were placed in the hands of the Emperor and the Pope placed on his head the Iron Crown of Lombardy. On this same day there arrived in Bologna Francesco Maria di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.

The preparations continued for the great coronation in S. Petronio. A bridge was constructed from a window of the great hall of the Anziani on the first floor of the Palazzo Pubblico. With a gentle incline it curved round by the centre of the piazza and continued southwards entering the church by the great door. It was nine paces wide and 250 feet in length; so that it was convenient for six

persons abreast to pass along it. It was covered with bright blue cloth, and hung with beautiful tapestries. There were decorations of laurel, juniper, ivy, myrtle, pine, cypress and all kinds of greenery, which were twined round the arms of the Pope, the Emperor and the Church. Being winter the flowers used were artificial. Late on the 23rd Duke Charles of Savoy arrived : he was related to the Emperor and was his Vicar in Germany. Early on the morning of the 24th crowds of eager spectators began to collect. Squadrons of German, Burgundian, Spanish and Italian cavalry were drawn up in the great Piazza, Don Antonio de Leyva directing the military arrangements there. The Bolognese officers made arrangements for posting the Bolognese troops, and Michele Ramazzotti was in command of the company selected as guard for His Holiness. Never before had such vast crowds assembled in Bologna ; every point of vantage for seeing the procession was occupied. The windows of all the buildings round the piazza were crowded with people, the balconies and even dangerous elevations. So great numbers of men, women and children swarmed upon the roofs that there was risk that they would collapse under the weight.

First came officials of the Empire and of the Papal Court : next the Colleges of the Law Doctors of Bologna in their robes ; Bolognese patricians in Senatorial garb, the Rector of the University, handsomely dressed in purple, the Podesta of

Bologna in a doublet of cloth of gold, followed by the " Giudici della Rota." Next came many priests in rich vestments of violet silk ; forty Archbishops and Bishops in silken copes and with mitres (di bambacina) on their heads. The reverend Cardinals followed, robed according to their degree ; the Deacons in dalmatics, the Priests in copes, and the Bishops too in their " piviali," or copes, all having on their heads mitres of white damask. Then came Count Lodovico Rangone and Lorenzo Cibo, the Gonfalonieri of Holy Church, preceding His Holiness. The Pope was wearing a magnificent " piviale " adorned with the precious gem worked by Cellini, in which was the splendid diamond which had once belonged to Lodovico il Moro. On his head was the most precious triple crown.

A numerous company of pages, walking two and two, headed the Imperial procession ; these young nobles were richly dressed all alike, and decked with various knightly emblems. Equerries and various household servants in gorgeous Imperial liveries followed. Heralds from the many Imperial kingdoms and provinces and from foreign princes came next, military officers, Secretaries of State, knights of various orders, Counsellors, Counts, Barons, Marquesses, Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, and Grandees of Spain. Foremost among the ambassadors were those from France, England, Scotland, Portugal, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, from the Duke of Ferrara, the Venetians, the Genoese, from Siena and from Lucca. Bishops

and priests, dukes and great nobles from all parts of Europe were there, all resplendent in most magnificent attire adorned with gold and silver and precious gems. The chief major domo was Adriano d'Astord, Sire di Croy.

The four feudatory princes of the Empire carried the Imperial insignia.

First, bearing the Imperial sceptre in his right hand, was the illustrious Prince and Marchese di Monferrato. He wore a suit of red velvet with a cape reaching nearly to the ground and large sleeves; and over it a mantle of royal purple. A round collar of white ermine with tails covered a great part of his breast and shoulders. On his head was a cap of the same velvet, with white trimming; it was surrounded by a marquess's coronet of cunningly worked gold enriched with jewels, pearls and precious stones of inestimable value.

Next came the "gloriosissimo Principe" Philip, Duke of Bavaria, who as Count Palatine of the Rhine carried the golden globe which represents the Empire of the world. He was a fine tall man and distinguished for valour and greatness of mind. He was dressed like the Marquess, with his clothes cut "alla tedesca." His purple cloak was adorned with rich embroidery of gold and silver, and over his cap was the ducal coronet most richly jewelled. As Prefect of Rome the magnificent Duke of Urbino carried the Imperial sword, which was splendidly ornamented with gems in its guard and

in the sheath. He wore a dalmatic of crimson satin which reached to the knees, and over it a mantle of gold brocade fastened on the right shoulder. His cap was of unusual shape, in the form of a pyramid covered with red satin, with ermine trimming, and on the round white top two bands of gold forming a cross. From it hung down on the shoulders two red bands with crosses of gold lace, like the wide bands that fall from episcopal mitres.

The magnificent Imperial crown was borne by the Duke of Savoy. Its form differed from other royal crowns, for within it was a sort of mitre, of somewhat episcopal form, but lower, more open and not so pointed, and open at the front and not by the ears; over it was a circlet or semi-circle of gold, on which was fixed a little orb with a cross. The Duke was dressed in purple silk, richly adorned with gold and silver. His ducal coronet was resplendent with pearls, emeralds and carbuncles, and was said to be worth more than 100,000 ducats.

The Emperor was stately and dignified in bearing. He walked with Cardinal Salviati on his right hand and Cardinal Ridolfi on his left. The Counts of Lanoia and Nassau were his guards, and as Grand Chamberlains carried the train of the Imperial robes. Charles was wearing long robes of brown brocade, with the royal mantle, and on his head was the Iron Crown with which Clement had crowned him King of the Lombards two days

previously. A long train of nobles, counsellors and dignitaries completed the procession.

There were preliminary ceremonies in the two little wooden chapels that had been erected on either side of the entrance to S. Petronio in order to conform to the ritual of Imperial coronations in Rome. In the little chapel on the right of the door Charles was admitted as a member of the Chapter of S. Pietro in Vaticano, as a necessary qualification for his coronation as King of the Romans. Just as the Emperor, again vested in his royal robes, was about to cross the threshold of S. Petronio, an accident happened to the bridge not far behind him. Some twenty paces gave way under the weight of the numerous cortège. Many people were injured. After a little delay the ceremonial continued and the breach was speedily repaired.

The Emperor was now robed in a deacon's tunic richly worked with gold and richly embroidered with pearls; on his feet were the sandals of crimson velvet embroidered with gold and adorned with gems. The "piviale" he was wearing was of priceless value. On it was figured a black two-headed eagle with open wings covering the back; the feathers were embroidered with pearls. In the middle of the collar the portrait of the Emperor was embroidered, seated on his throne between two columns, with the crown on his head and the sceptre and orb in his hand. Above was the figure of God the Father giving the blessing. It was

adorned with great pearls and precious gems. At the fastening of the " piviale " on the breast there was a diamond and a ruby of inestimable value. The gems were valued at more than 800,000 scudi. The Count of Nassau at the back, and at the sides the Bishops of Bari, il Palatinato, of Brescia and of Coira helped to bear the weight of the " piviale."

Thus attended, the Emperor advanced up the vast nave of S. Petronio. The church was crowded with nobles and their ladies in rich dresses decked with jewels. The ceremony was very magnificent, the Pope and all the clergy wearing splendid vestments. The Pope celebrated mass and the full ceremonial of a Roman Coronation was carefully observed. After the singing of the " Kyrie Eleison " the Emperor was solemnly invested with the sword, the sceptre and the orb, which in turn were brought to the Pope from the altar. Finally, as Charles knelt before the Pope, His Holiness, assisted by the Cardinals Ridolfi and Salviati, placed on his head the Imperial crown, pronouncing the words " Accipe signum gloria." Charles bent to kiss the Papal feet, and then being enthroned beside His Holiness, his coronation was solemnly proclaimed. Trumpets and drums sounded and the artillery before and behind S. Petronio thundered, thus announcing to all the people the accomplishment of the coronation ceremony; the announcement was welcomed with universal exultation. After the completion of the ceremonies in the church there was a grand procession, passing from the

piazza by the via degli Orefici, by the Mercato di mezzo, the Strada Maggiore, the Cartoleria nuova, the piazzale di S. Biagio, the Strada S. Stefano, passing the corner of the Palazzo Pepoli by the via dei Toschi and so to the church of S. Domenico. The way was decorated and there were many triumphal arches. After ceremonies in the church the Emperor returned by the via S. Mammolo to the Palazzo Pubblico.

Soon after his return there was a great banquet served in the hall of the Palazzo.

The Emperor having settled all details of politics left Bologna on March 23rd, and on March 31st the Pope also departed.

At the close of the year 1532 Clement and Charles were again in Bologna occupied with important negotiations.

From the time of Pope Julius II the history of Bologna is included as a part of the history of the Popes and the Papal States. The forms of Republican Government were continued, but the Papal Legates had a controlling influence. Many of those Legates afterwards became Popes. Bolognese citizens also ruled from the Vatican. Among the most distinguished of these was Ugo Boncompagni, who was chosen Pope on May 13th, 1572, taking the name of Gregory XIII. He ruled with uprightness and wise charity. His native city was not forgotten, and he was careful that justice should be done in its courts. It is interesting to remember that we owe the reform of the Calendar

to a Pope who was a member of a distinguished Bolognese family. The citizens testified their gratitude to their compatriot by placing his statue above the great door of the Palazzo Pubblico.

It was in 1740 that Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini became Pope as Benedict XIV. Lambertini was a man of distinguished ability. Having studied Philosophy and Theology, he turned to Law and obtained the "laurea dottorale" in both Civil and Canon Law. He filled many important ecclesiastical offices, and had a seat on the various Church Councils. He was made Bishop of Theodosia and afterwards of Ancona. In 1728 he was made Cardinal, and three years later he came to Bologna as Archbishop. He was greatly beloved, for he devoted himself to the care of his diocese, reforming the clergy and promoting good government. He instructed his people by careful preaching and attracted them by his goodness. As Pope Benedict he was an able ruler, and besides his care for religion he maintained the prosperity of the State. Science, Arts and Letters flourished in Rome under his rule. He himself wrote learned works. Benedict founded the Library of the University at Bologna and endowed it with many very valuable books.

An interesting episode in Bolognese history is the courtesy shown to the exiled House of Stuart. The Insignia of the Anziani[2] for the second "bimestre" of the year 1717 shows the royal welcome given to "Jacobus III M. B. Rex," the son of James II on his arrival in the States of the Church. A

document in the MS. chronicle of Ghiselli gives a list of provisions sent as a present to " Jacopo Rè della Gran Bretagna," as he was called in Italy, from the Senate of Bologna. It is a handsome list, and includes :—

2 Baccili di Mortadelli (the famous Bologna sausage),
2 Parmesan cheeses,
2 " Piramidi " of butter,
4 Loaves of sugar,
4 Capons,
4 Chickens,
4 Cases of wine,

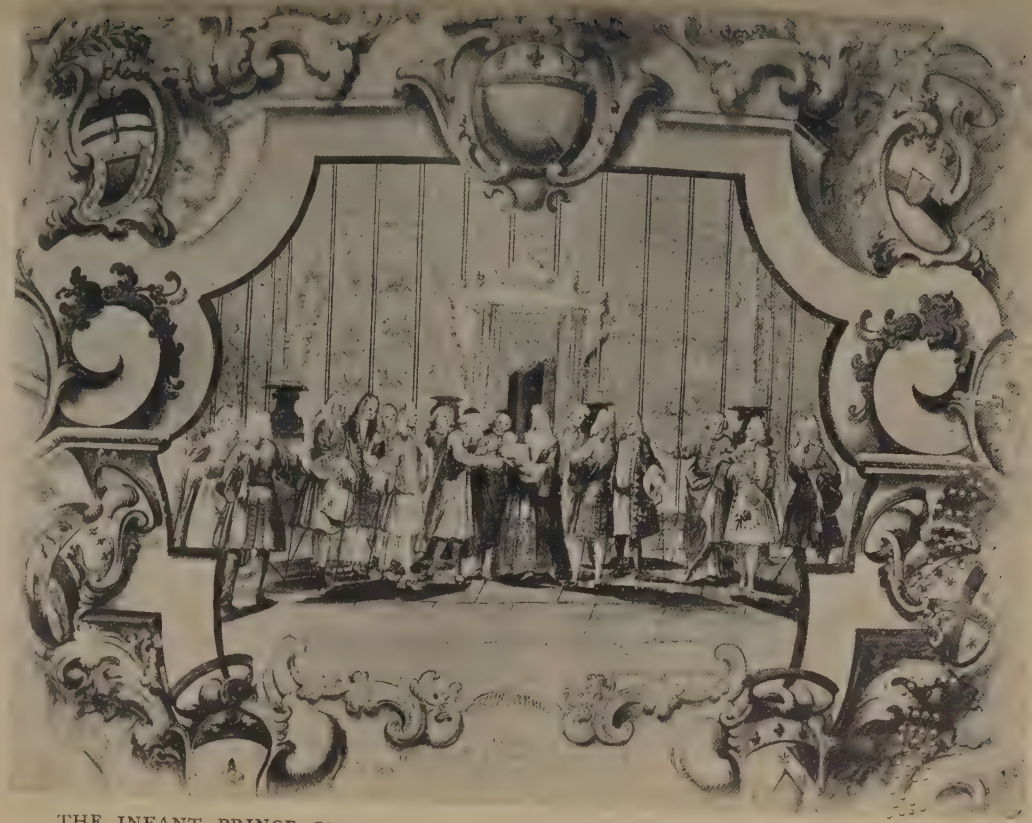
with many other articles of domestic utility. There is also a note of a ceremonial reception of ambassadors of the Senate by the Prince in June.

It was in Bologna that Clementina Sobieski found refuge after her escape from Innsbruck. She had been detained there by the Emperor in deference to the views of George I of England. On her arrival at Bologna in May 1719, after a difficult and hazardous journey, she went first to the Hotel Pellegrino. Hearing that she was in the city, the Papal Legate came to give her courteous welcome, and conducted her to a house in the via Larga, near to the church of S^{a} Maria Maggiore. The ceremony of the marriage of " il Rè Giacomo " and the Princess Clementina was performed in Bologna, James being represented by proxy. The Insignia of the Anziani gives a miniatured picture of the wedding. An English priest who had come

from Rome performed the ceremony quite privately in a room of the house, and Cardinal Origo, Papal Legate at Bologna, gave the blessing. Pretty stories are told of the gracious ways of the young Princess during this stay in Bologna. Clementina continued her journey to Rome and stayed for a time in the Convent of the Ursulines. By her graciousness she there won affection as she had done in Bologna. Dr. Angelini wrote: "Her beauty and gentleness quickly attracted universal affection, and during her stay in that convent, this was greatly increased by her piety." In September Clementina went to Montefiascone to meet her bridegroom on his return from Spain.

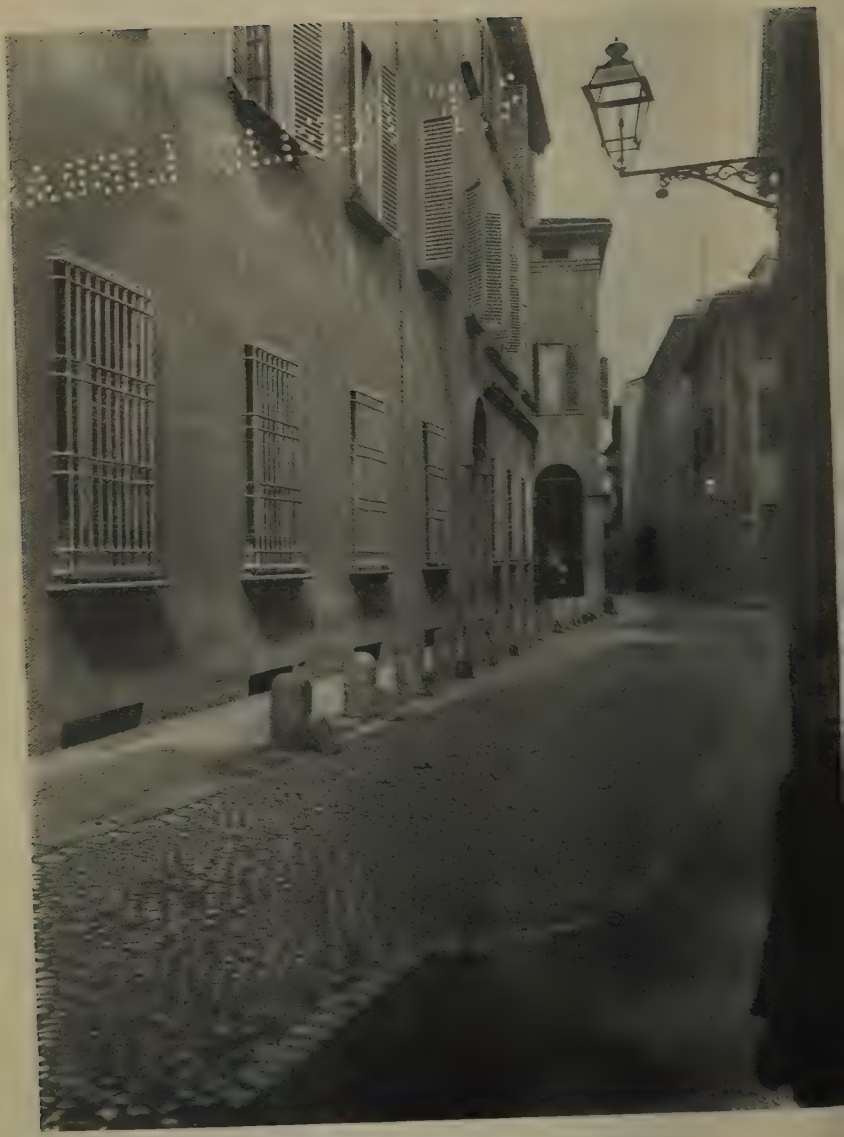
The MS. chronicle of Ghiselli at the beginning of the year 1721 announces that on the 30th of December, just passed, a son was born to "il Rè d'Inghilterra" in Rome. This son was Prince Charlie, and the Insignia of the Anziani for the first "bimestre" of 1721 gives a picture representing the presentation of the infant Prince to the Italian ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries.

Towards the close of the next year James and his wife made a stay in Bologna, occupying the Casa Belloni, the palace of a wealthy citizen. They visited the most interesting churches of the city and were present in S. Petronio at the celebration of the annual "festa" of the patron saint. The Insignia of the Anziani again give a picture of this. From this time on to 1729 there is evidence that James and his family were frequently



THE INFANT PRINCE CHARLIE PRESENTED TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIC DIGNITARIES IN ROME

From the Insignia of the Anziani in Bologna for the 1st bimestre of the year 1721



CASA BELLONI, VIA DEI GOMBRUTI

CORTILE OF THE CASA BELLONI

in Bologna. At first they held their Court in the Casa Belloni, and a tablet on the wall of its great staircase records the residence of James in that palace, and the welcome accorded to him by Pope Clement XI to the States of the Church.

In October 1726 James moved to the Palazzo Fantuzzi in which alterations had been made for his convenience. The little princes on their arrival from Rome still went to the Casa Belloni, as the Palazzo Ranuzzi-Cospi, near to the Palazzo Fantuzzi, was not yet ready for them. It is on the occasion of this arrival that Ghiselli describes little Prince Charlie, whom he calls Prince of Wales, as "molto spiritoso, e di bellezza straordinaria." The little Prince appears to have begun to take part in the gaieties of Bolognese society at a very early age; for in November of this year the Marchese De Buoi gave a ball at which he was present. A picture in the Insignia represents the little Prince as dancing with the Contessa Pepoli, the bride of the occasion.

The chronicler makes frequent mention of the attendance of James at church festivals, and of his private devotions, which were varied with social and dramatic entertainments, and with playing "ombra" at the Casa Casale.

James left Bologna on January 31st, 1729, but Clementina and Prince Charlie remained there till May. A picture in the Insignia for the third "bimestre" of that year shows the visit of the ambassadors of the Gonfaloniere and the Senate

to pay their farewell respects to Clementina on the occasion of her departure for Rome. A document in Ghiselli's collection gives a full account of the ceremonial observed for this visit. At the end of the month Clementina set out for Rome, and it is believed that the courtly Bolognese never again saw the charming Princess to whom they had accorded such stately hospitality.

CHAPTER VII

THE RISORGIMENTO

Write it out large in words that will not fade,
And that can travel farther than thine eyes,
And will not die when thou art laid in dust.

"The Disciples."
HARRIET E. HAMILTON KING.

THE French Revolution was soon followed by revolutionary movements in Italy. General Bonaparte entered Italy, advancing victoriously. Late on June 18th, 1796, a French cavalry picket arrived in Bologna. A large body of men and Bonaparte himself followed the next day. Bologna was declared free amidst public rejoicing. Soon the Cisalpine Republic was constituted, and in this Bologna was included. It was at this time that the ancient Guilds of Arts were dissolved, and that the venerable institution of the Anziani came to an end.

The Austrians had a short period of rule in Bologna from June 30th, 1779, to June 28th, 1800, when the French, after the victory of Marengo, entered the city, the Austrians retiring before them; and the Cisalpine Republic was revived. Napoleon again visited Bologna in June, 1805, after being crowned King of Italy at Milan.

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna restored Bologna with the rest of Romagna to the Pope. Then, and more than once in succeeding years, the Papal government was supported by Austrian troops occupying Bologna.

It was in the "Year of Revolution," 1848, that the Bolognese achieved the victory which is recorded with pride in their annals, and commemorated in the name of the piazza "otto Agosto." In March of that year the people of Milan had risen and expelled the Austrians. By the beginning of August the battles had been fought at Custozza, and the campaign which had begun so hopefully for Charles Albert was ending in disappointment and disaster. On August 6th the Austrians reentered Milan. General Welden was marching on Bologna. Count Cesare Bianchetti, the pro-Legate, considering resistance useless, and also deeming the capitulation of Vicenza binding on him, sent away the regular Papal troops and artillery from Bologna. On August 7th the city was surrounded by the Austrians. A deputation from the civic authorities represented to the General the sovereign rights of the Holy See in Bologna, and tried to secure by negotiation that the Austrian troops should not enter the city. The pro-Legate made a proclamation announcing that this had been arranged, and that the Austrians should only have command of the three gates, S. Felice, Galliera, and Maggiore. General Welden dined comfortably at the "Grande Albergo," now Hotel Brun.

But from time to time armed Austrians were seen in the city. The national feeling was in a state of excitement, and disturbances arose, and Austrian officials were injured. The Austrian General demanded satisfaction within two hours. But the people were not to be restrained. The great bell in the tower of the Palazzo del Podestà and the other bells of the town called to arms, and the people hastily constructed barricades in all directions. The Austrian attack began at 5 P.M. Artillery fire from the Porta Galliera enabled them to drive back the defenders and gain possession of the Montagnola, and it was here that the fiercest fighting took place. The Bolognese were badly armed and without military leaders, but so determined was the resistance that after three hours' fighting the Austrians gave way and retreated, part of the army to Ferrara and part to Modena. The Bolognese had taken some prisoners. The pro-Legate, in a despatch next day, expressed his satisfaction at the victory, saying "the vigorous defence against the Austrians will be an eternal memorial of Bolognese valour." A few days later the senator Gaetano Zucchini announced that the names of those who had fallen should be inscribed on marble tablets and a monument erected to commemorate the valour of the citizens.

The next year, 1849, was the year of the splendid defence of the Roman Republic under General Roselli and Garibaldi. There were Bolognese volunteers there led by the Marchese Pietro Vassè

di Pietramellara ; Angelo Masini commanded Garibaldi's Lancers, a squadron he had himself formed, and which was first known as the " cacciatori della morte." Masini was killed in the desperate fighting at the Casino dei Quattro Venti : Colonel Cesare Gambarini, then a Captain, distinguished himself in the hottest fighting in defence of Rome. Another leader was Colonel Berti Pichat, with his Bolognese civic legion ; many others distinguished themselves whom it is not possible to name. Pietramellara was mortally wounded in the last defence of the Vascello, and died in hospital just after the French entered Rome. There, too, from Bologna, through all the siege, was the monk Ugo Bassi. The heroic defenders were at length forced to yield on July 2nd, and Garibaldi and his brave followers set out on their hazardous retreat. Already in May the Austrians had marched on Bologna. The town made a gallant defence from May 8th to the 16th, while the besiegers bombarded it. But on the 16th it was found necessary to capitulate, and General Gorkowski entered with his army. He was still in command when Garibaldi and the little band of followers remaining to him were driven back on to the shores fringed by the pine forest of Ravenna. Ugo Bassi and Captain Livraghi, taking refuge together, were captured and brought to Bologna. There was a form of trial. Captain Livraghi was a Lombard, and had at one time served in the Austrian Army : he was therefore speedily condemned. But Ugo Bassi, though always to the

front where danger was greatest to help with his ministrations, had never borne arms. He had advanced bravely in the thickest of the fighting armed only with his cross. But the authorities were determined to make an example of him. After a short examination by a judge he was sentenced. General Gorkowski thought that as he was a priest it would be well to obtain ecclesiastical sanction for his execution. It is sad to have to record that nine Italian priests were found ready to sign the sentence. Three others, Hungarians, who were chaplains in the Austrian army, refused. Ugo was allowed an interview with his sister. On August 8th the two prisoners were led out by the Porta Isaia to the place where criminals were executed. There they were shot. The young officer who should have given the word of command was so moved that he could not speak, so another official took his place. The two patriots were buried near the place where they fell. Next morning it was found that the grave had been strewn with flowers : and again each night the flowers were renewed. The Papal Commissioner was uneasy at this sign of the popular feeling. He therefore had the body disinterred and placed within the cemetery. The spot is marked by a simple inscription on the marble of the compartment in the Sala dei catacombi. A tablet in the 67th arcade of the line between Meloncello and the entrance to the Campo Santo marks the spot where Ugo Bassi fell a martyr for his country's liberty. Next to it is

the tablet in memory of Captain Livraghi. A bronze statue of Ugo Bassi has been placed in the street which bears his name, with this simple inscription :—

A UGO BASSI
I BOLOGNESI

There is no need to record his deeds in the city for which he suffered.

It was not only in Bologna itself that Bolognese citizens fought for the liberation of Italy. In the campaign in the Veneto in 1848 Colonel Tommaso Rossi was commanding a battalion, Captain Giovanni Lambertini was leading a body of volunteers whom he paid himself, and Count Livio Zambeccari was commanding the column. Among the heroes in the defence of Rome, a medal was awarded to Captain Cesare Gamberini for having on June 3rd made head with his own company against the enemy, holding the Casino dei Quattro Venti. It would fill a whole book to tell of all in these and other battles.

The Bolognese statesman—Marco Minghetti—was with Carlo Alberto in 1848. He distinguished himself at the battle of Goito, and on July 25th he was present at the battle of Custozza. On both occasions he received the thanks and congratulations of the King, who appreciated his courage. A Bolognese legion was aiding Venice through the campaigns of 1848 and 1849. Among the distinguished names enrolled in this legion were those

MONUMENT TO UGO BASSI

of the Marchese Annibale Rodriguez de Buoi, and of Signor Gaetano Tacconi, afterwards for many years Sindaco of Bologna. He held that office in the year of the eight hundredth anniversary celebrations of the University.

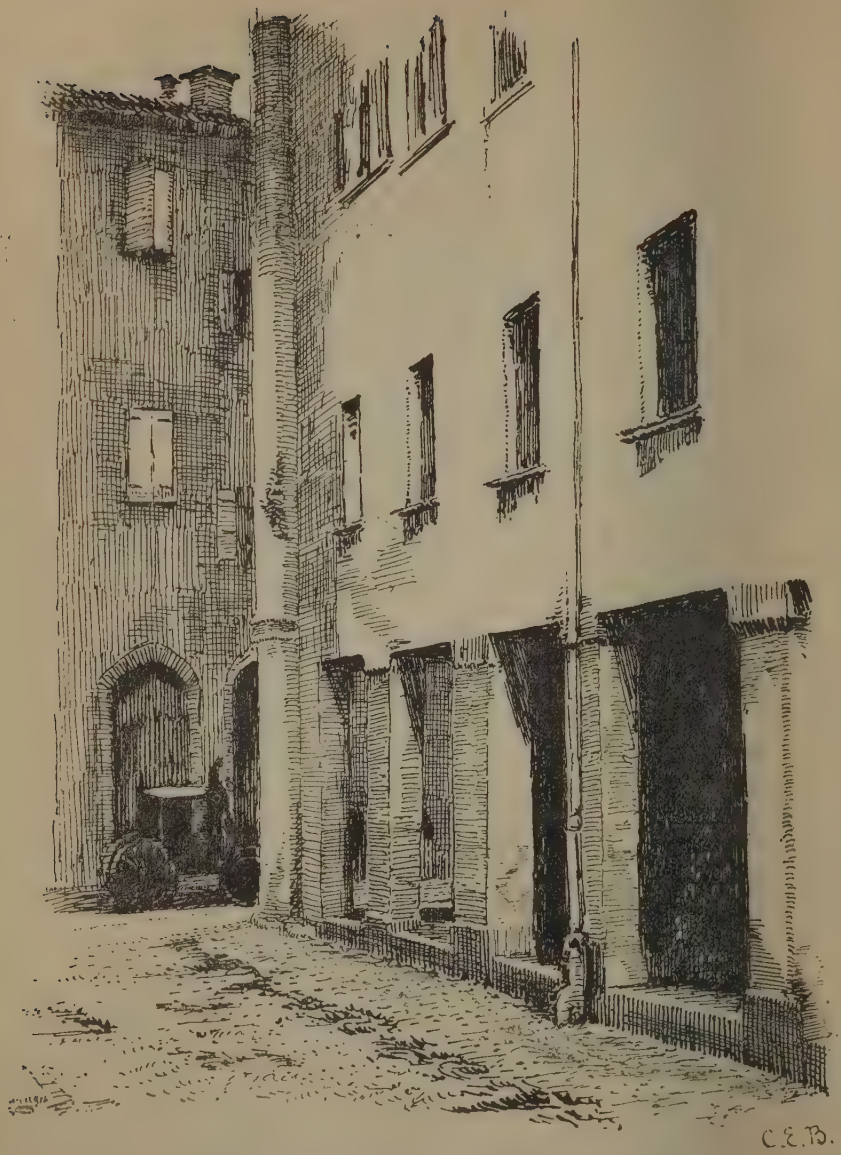
Among the patriots of Romagna closely connected with Bologna, who suffered exile in the great cause of United Italy, were the brothers Vincenzo and Leonida Caldesi, and their cousin Ludovico. Like so many other distinguished patriots, they left home and possessions, as the penalty for working for their country's freedom. But in the long years of anxiety they formed ties and associations that made of England a second "patria" only less dear than the land of their birth. Vincenzo Caldesi was in command of a column in the assault on Monterotondo. After the death of Vincenzo in 1870, Giosue Carducci wrote the fine verses in which he addresses him as "leon di Romagna," and bids him sleep, in the words of the opening line :—

"Dormi avvolto nel tuo mantel di gloria."

There were Bolognesi with Garibaldi in the campaign in Sicily, and they took their share also in the campaign of 1866,—the war for Venice. Bologna contributed to the last patriotic sacrifice in this long struggle for Liberty and Unity on the sad day of Mentana. And a brigade from Bologna was among the troops at the breach of the Porta Pia in the walls of Rome on September 20th, 1870.

Thoughts of the achievements of Bolognese citizens[1] have led to anticipation in time, and have taken us to distant battlefields, from which a return must be made to the liberation of Bologna itself.

In 1859 came the war for Lombardy. After the battle of Magenta the Austrian troops were withdrawn from Romagna and the Marches : the inhabitants of these districts at once asked for the dictatorship of Piedmont. The first assembly of representatives of Romagna met in Bologna. The government of Emilia was afterwards transferred to Modena and Luigi Carlo Farini was chosen Dictator. In March, 1860, a plebiscite was taken and Emilia declared in favour of annexation to the kingdom of Sardinia by an overwhelming majority. Victor Emanuel was very warmly welcomed in Bologna when he made his entry on May 1st of the same year, in the course of his progress visiting the provinces that had lately been added to his kingdom. The loyalty then shown continues, and was very pleasantly demonstrated when last the widow of the son of the first King of Italy visited the city. Queen Margherita is greatly beloved by the citizens of Bologna.



THE LAST COLUMN REMAINING OF THE
PALAZZO PUBBLICO OF 1121

CHAPTER VIII

THE PALAZZO DEL PODESTÀ—THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO AND THE COMMUNE OF BOLOGNA

Ne il gusto delle arti soltanto, ma la storia civile è compresa nel nostro palazzo.—GAETANO GIORDANI.

THE oldest remaining public building in Bologna is the Palazzo del Podestà. The earlier official home of the municipal government of the city was built in 1121 near the church of S. Ambrogio, and it extended to the site of the church of S. Giovanni dei Celestini. It was therefore on part of the ground occupied by the Forum of Roman Bologna. It is described in documents of earlier date than the thirteenth century by the humbler title of "Domus." Ghirardacci mentions it, and Masini, writing in 1666, tells us that S. Ambrogio served for centuries as the chapel of the Palazzo della Republica of Bologna, and that its site was in his day occupied by the choir of S. Petronio. From Giordani we learn that "the men who in 1201 governed the republic of Bologna, seeing it daily grow vastly in power and riches, judged it most convenient and right to abandon the ancient Palazzo del Comune and to undertake to build another better suited to its splendour and

dignity." This was the beginning of the Palazzo del Podestà which we now know. It was ordered by the decree of these magnates that lands and houses should be purchased at the expense of the Commune on the site chosen. In pursuance of this, in that year and the two following, purchases were made, including some from the illustrious old families, the Rusticani, the Lambertazzi, the Cattani, and the Raimondi. Alidosi records these purchases, and the sums paid, amounting in all to 2147 lire, 6 soldi and 6 denari. Six deeds of purchase date from April, 1200.

Service was held for the first time in the Chapel of the Palazzo in 1226.

The Palazzo was enlarged in 1245 to serve as a residence for the Magistrates. It will be of some interest here to enquire what those Magistrates were. Among the cities of Italy, Bologna was one of the first to attain to municipal freedom. It was one of the towns to which Otto the Great granted the privilege of a measure of self-government. This was about A.D. 966. The cities of Northern Italy, in this beginning of the Commune, took the Roman Republic as their model. The citizens chose two consuls to be their leaders in war and to administer justice within the city. The consuls were elected each year, and it was among the duties of their office to preside in the Councils of their fellow-citizens. Under the Emperors of the House of Franconia the Imperial power in Italy became weaker, and the Communes grew in power

and independence. In 1153 Bologna decided to create a new office, and for the first time chose a Podestà. Near to the same date other Italian Communes made a similar change in their government. In the case of Bologna, the reason of this change is naïvely described by the chronicler, Fra Leandro Alberto. He says: "The citizens seeing that there often arose among them quarrels and altercations, whether from favouritism or friendship, from envy or hatred that one had against another, by which their republic suffered great harm, loss and detriment; therefore they decided after much deliberation to provide against these disorders. And thus they began to create a prudent man of foreign birth their chief magistrate, giving him every power, authority and jurisdiction over the city, as well over criminal as over civil causes, and in times of war as well as in times of peace, calling him Praetor, as being above the others, or Podestà, as having every authority and power over the city." Alberti further describes how "with great ceremony there was given to him by all the people authority over the city and the district; they presented to him the baton, which signifies power, the sword justice, and the cap sincerity, meaning that in the affairs of the city he should confer with the Consuls, and arrange everything with them, so that things should succeed in good order and in peace." The first Podestà chosen in this year, 1153, was Guido di Canossa, a noble from a town in the western district of Emilia. The

Bolognese seem to have chosen wisely. Guido continued in office for some years, which Alberti records with this comprehensive assurance, "Bologna living peacefully." And the security of firm government induced small towns near to place themselves under the protection of the flourishing Commune. It is interesting to note that the year of the election of the first Podestà of Bologna—A.D. 1153—is also the year of the accession of Frederick Barbarossa, who so vigorously asserted his authority in Italy, and whose grandson, Frederick II, made it the aim of his ambition to establish the reality of Imperial power throughout the peninsula.

The powers of the Podestà, though extensive, were not despotic. When the first Podestà was appointed there were already established in Bologna three Councils, and these continued. These were the Consiglio Generale, the Consiglio Speciale, and the Consiglio di Credenza. The Consiglio Generale consisted of the other two Councils united and sitting together. The city was divided into four quarters, named after the principal gates, the quarters of Porta Stiera, Porta Piera, Porta Ravegnana and Porta Procola. Ten electors were chosen by lot out of each of these four tribes, and these forty electors nominated 600 men, 150 from each tribe, and these formed the Consiglio Speciale. The Consiglio di Credenza was elected in the same way. The members of the Consiglio Speciale must be true Bolognese citizens, who had not been rebels or banished. They must have attained the

age of twenty-five. This Council met frequently, and the presence of 400 members was necessary for the validity of its proceedings. After the institution of the office of the Anziani, it was summoned by their bell. Any members absent from its meetings without just cause were fined five to ten Bolognese soldi. The Consiglio di Credenza, or Collegio dei Magistrati, was composed of the Anziani, the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, the Gonfalonieri del Popolo, or Tribuni della Plebe, and of the Massari delle Arti. In 1393 changes were made by Ugoloni Scappi in the composition and powers of these Councils. The Council of the 600 became the Generale, and the Speciale was reduced to 120 members, and of these only 30 remained in office at a time, for a period of four months, and they were called the "consiglieri degli Anziani."

The office of the Anziani was a specifically Bolognese institution, and it is specially important and interesting. A few other Italian towns, at some time or other, have given this name to certain of their officers, but in none except Lucca was their office of more than very brief duration. In Bologna the dignity was essentially democratic in its origin. In 1228 the people were dissatisfied with the government of the Podestà, Uberto Visconti. The artisans of the Guilds, led by Giuseppe Toschi, broke into the Palazzo del Podestà, demanding a share of power in the government for themselves, by means of representatives. They burnt the ancient documents they found in the Palazzo, and the insurrec-

tion was only quelled by the authorities agreeing to admit twenty-four representatives of the guilds of arms and of arts (six for each quarter) to a share in their counsels. To these new officers the name of Anziani[1] was given, and they took up their abode in the houses of the Lambertini at the opposite corner of the via Spaderie. The powers of the Anziani increased with time. In 1245 they began to call themselves Anziani Consoli, the distinction of a seal of their own was accorded to them, its device being St Peter with the keys in his hand. At that date their number was reduced to twelve, and for more than a century there were various changes of increase and decrease, until in 1377 their number was finally fixed at nine, including the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, who was their head. From that time their term of office was always two months, and the Gonfaloniere was chosen in turn from each of the quarters. The first condition for being eligible for election as an Anziano was membership in the Consiglio dei 600. This secured that the candidate should be of true Bolognese parentage and descent, and that he had not been a rebel or in banishment. He must be between thirty and sixty years of age, not belong to the clergy, not be disabled by serious illness, not be of the number of the "Sapienti" deputed that year to be the electors of the Anziani. If absent from the city at the time of election, he must return within fifteen days if absent on business for the State, and within eight days if away only on his own

affairs. A man could not be re-elected within a year of the expiration of his former term of office. Only one member of a family should be in office at one time ; but to this rule exceptions were made. At a fixed date in each year the Collegio dei Magistrati met and elected from among themselves the sixteen Sapienti to whom was entrusted the selection of the men who should be on the roll for the Anzianato. The Sapienti examined the qualifications, each name chosen was inscribed on a sheet of parchment and enclosed in a ball of wax ; all the balls were placed in a ballot-box, which was enclosed in a chest secured by three keys. Three days before the close of the term of office of one set of Anziani, the Collegio dei Magistrati called a solemn assembly, which included the Capitano del Popolo and the Podestà. The chest containing the names was brought and the ballot-box taken out of it, the Capitano del Popolo took from it, one by one, nine of the wax balls and handed them to the Cancelliere, who broke them and read out the names of the new Anziani. The chest was then closed and taken back to its customary place of safe keeping. At the beginning of the fourteenth century this ceremony took place in S. Domenico, but later the assembly was held in the Palazzo del Comune. The people celebrated as a solemn festival the day on which the new Anziani entered on their office. The bells of the Tower of the Palazzo del Comune and of the Palazzo del Podestà rang to call the citizens to the ceremony.

The new Anziani took the oath, and received from the old ones the "gonfalone" and the charge of the government of the city. Their oath consisted in the promise to use all their powers for the good of their country, and from the time when the new church of S. Petronio was in building, to take care that this church should be finished as quickly as possible.

During their term of office the Anziani were exempt from military service, and if they died they were buried at the expense of the Commune. Their persons were considered sacred and inviolable, and any offence against them was punished by a penalty four times as heavy as would be inflicted for a similar offence against an ordinary citizen. This inviolability continued for the whole year succeeding their term of office. They could not be arrested for debt in their Palazzo, in its cortile, or on its bridge, and this immunity extended to their private homes.

A citizen elected to be an Anziano could not refuse the honour. If he held any office in the Commune he must resign it, and he could not exercise any trade or business during the time of his Anzianato. It was the duty of the Cancelliere to read the statutes to the new Anziani within three days of their entry into office, so that it should be impossible for them to plead ignorance as an excuse for any faults of omission or commission in the performance of their duties.

In 1336 the Consiglio del sei cento made a decree that the Anziani, during their term of office,

should remain shut up in their official residence. At earlier dates decrees aiming at this had been passed, though not observed. But to this decree of September 24th, 1336, the Anziani yielded obedience, and on October 1st they duly retired to their Palazzo. Next day the same Council, stating that the said "domus" was too small for the Anziani Consoli and their attendant officers and servants, decreed that they should take possession of the Palazzo della Biada, on the opposite side of the Piazza. The number of Anziani at that date was twenty. The change was effected on October 5th, on the return of the Anziani from a religious function in honour of St Francis. The Palazzo della Biada thus became their fixed residence. In 1429 Pope Martin V decreed that the Palazzo del Comune should be kept exclusively as the residence of the Legate: the Anziani therefore retired to the adjoining Palazzo dei Notari. But in 1438 they returned to the Palazzo del Comune, which continued to be their residence till the abolition of their dignity in 1796.

The Anziani gave audience to the public on two days in the week, at first on Tuesday and Thursday. Later the fixed days were Tuesday and Friday, with sometimes additional days. The prescribed seclusion was strictly observed lest they should divulge State secrets in their intercourse with their fellow-citizens. The Anziani were allowed to come out from their Palazzo for State ceremonies and religious functions, but even on these occasions

it was enacted that a certain number, three at least, should remain at home in charge. It was permitted to them once in the week to visit their homes—at night, accompanied by one of their officials with "a little light," and they must return before dawn. Even so, it was enacted that a quorum of six Anziani must always remain in their Palazzo. These residential restrictions were relaxed in course of time.

The chief of the Anziani was the Gonfaloniere or Vessillifero di Giustizia. He took the first place in all ceremonies; he held half of the keys of the city, and he presented to the Councils the propositions on which the Anziani had agreed. Next to him in dignity came the Priore, who held the other half of the keys, and could also present propositions to the Councils. The office of Prior was held by the other eight Anziani each in turn for seven days.

The powers of the Anziani were mainly executive, but they also had a share in the legislative part of the government. They elected the Podestà, the Capitano del Popolo, the chief Sindaco of the city, and the other Sindics for the country round. Their choice of these officers had to be confirmed by the Consiglio dei 600. When the Papal dominion was established in Bologna in 1429 by Martin V, this right was limited to submitting three names to the Pope, who made the final choice. The Anziani paid the hired soldiers of the Commune; they held a review of them twice each month, and sometimes led them in the field. It was the Anziani who received ambassadors, and

who sent Bolognese ambassadors to other states. In 1447 Nicola V required that in sending ambassadors to the Lords of other states or to republics, the consent of the Legate should be obtained; but he left the Anziani quite free in their choice of ambassadors to send to the Pope. In decisions for alliances, and for declaring war, the Anziani had to seek the consent of the Councils of the people, the Generale and the Speciale. The Anziani had jurisdiction in the dependent Communes of the country round, and it was their duty to see that the city was supplied with the necessary food.

In 1322 the Anziani altered their seal; they added the fleur de lys of France to the arms of Bologna. In 1355 they again devised a new seal; it was in two parts, and one was kept in the custody of the Prior, the other in that of another of the Anziani. Later the seal was placed in the charge of two "frati mendicanti" who were always in the Palazzo in attendance on the Anziani. It is interesting to note one use to which the seal was put. It was used to stamp the dresses of ladies, when enactments were made to check luxury and extravagance in dress. There is a curious document in the Archivio di Stato giving a list of the garments brought for the "bollo" in the year 1401. It is a quaint picture, the learned judge sitting in judgment in the Palazzo Pubblico; the notary of the Anziani carefully noting particulars in the civic register; and the "frati mendicanti" in attendance to affix

the seal of the Anziani Consoli on these illegally fine clothes of the fair ladies of Bologna. After the date thus fixed such rich clothes were not to be made again. It seems that mostly the ladies brought their own finery, but it is stated that in some cases devoted husbands and fathers brought the gay garments of their wives and daughters to receive the civic sanction. It does not appear that the Anziani exercised a like supervision over the garments of the men of the city, and their own garments on state occasions, from all accounts, seem to have been at least gay. They appeared in rose-coloured cloth, and the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia wore a tunic of gold brocade edged with crimson, with a massive gold collar round his neck, its double chains hanging over his breast and shoulders. From the Statutes we learn that the suite of the Anziani consisted of a "cancelliere" with two assistants and two notaries; two "frati mendicanti," a steward, who was head of the household, a butler, six beadles, nine pages, a cook, a porter for the lower gate of the Palazzo, a gardener, and two servants, the duty of one being to clean the Palazzo, and of the other to carry wine for the Anziani. There were also two trumpeters and a drummer. It was required that all these should be Bolognese citizens. The liveries of the household were white and red taffeta, the city colours. There exists in the archives an inventory of the furniture, etc., belonging to the Anziani in 1488. It shows that their manner of life was not over

luxurious. It is true that one "scalda letti" is included among their possessions, and one is struck by the great weight of feathers connected with their bedding and cushions. It is a very conscientious inventory, for it carefully distinguishes whether hen's or goose's feathers are inside the articles specified.

Twelve large knives ornamented with silver seems a modest supply. And the only others mentioned are twenty small knives also adorned with silver, with the additional note that two of these have been missing since the last July. Twelve silver spoons are catalogued, but a note adds that two are missing, one since March, the other since July, 1487.

The Anziani lost some of their powers under the autocratic government of the Bentivoglio, when Senators were elected for life. And when the Papal government was established in Bologna those powers grew rapidly less and less. But while their executive power declined, their state and dignity seems to have increased. Before long this originally democratic magistrature had come to be a privilege belonging to a few noble families. Then after the seventeenth century, with additions to the nobles, we find new names in the lists of the Anziani. The Archivio di Stato possesses a record of the Anziani of immense historical and antiquarian value. This is the Insignia of the Anziani. They consist of the names and titles of the Anziani for each "bimestre" of the year from 1530 to 1796, inscribed on parch-

ment, and after the earliest years opposite to each list the arms of these dignitaries gaily emblazoned, and for many of the years a picture representing the most important event of their term of office. The arms are arranged round this picture, sometimes forming a kind of frame.

From this long digression on the officers of the Commune we must return to the Palazzo del Podestà. The romantic interest of the Palazzo del Podestà centres round the young king Enzo, King of Sardinia and Imperial Legate in Italy from his father Frederick II. He is described by the chroniclers as "bello di corpo, d'angelica faccia, coi capelli biondi infino alla cintura." The battle of Fossalta was fought on May 26th, 1249. The account of the war which led to that famous victory of the Commune of Bologna belongs to history. The stories of ill-treatment of the young King during his long captivity in Bologna are entirely without foundation. He was always honourably and generously treated. The Bolognese were resolute in their determination to keep him safely, but they surrounded him with all the state and comfort that was consistent with security. The fine hall in the Palazzo del Podestà, which still retains the name of "Sala del Rè Enzo," was his habitation by day. A thirteenth century Genoese chronicler narrates that in the middle of this room there hung a cage of wood and iron in which the King was shut up at night. This was probably the origin of the fables about an iron cage narrated by

other chroniclers. A chronicle found at Padua asserts that he was kept chained up, but his chains were of gold to distinguish him from the other prisoners. The Statutes of Bologna give evidence of the honourable treatment and consideration shown to the captive King. Sixteen citizens, re-elected every fortnight, were placed in charge of him, and were allowed to converse with him if the greater number were present. Four other captives were with him,—Buoso di Dovara, Corrado di Salisburgo, and two others. The guards were chosen from noble Bolognese families, so the King at least had pleasant society. He was also provided with a suitable household—physicians, cooks, tailors, and servants. We find mention of these in Enzo's will, by which he leaves legacies to them in recognition of their services. The Statutes also record the precautions taken for the safe-keeping of the King. At the sound of the public bell the doors were locked with two keys: one was kept by the guards, the other was taken by a judge or by an officer of the Podestà. Soldiers were on guard on the stairs and on the bridge. One statute provides that the guards shall not play at any game of chance lest their watchfulness should be distracted. Thus carefully did the Commune keep their prisoner, stubbornly regardless alike of the entreaties and the threats of his father the Emperor. One chronicler tells us that Frederick offered enough gold to encircle the walls of Bologna if only the proud burghers would set his son at liberty. But the in-

exorable answer was maintained:—"Regem. Hentium tenuimus, tenemus et tenebimus tanquam fore creditur nostri juris." But did all the citizens think that it was their right to hold captive the representative of the Roman Emperor? Accursius and Odofredus were at that time teaching in Bologna, and their writings show how they took a strictly legal view of the rights of the Lord of the Holy Roman Empire. It is true that at this time Frederick had been excommunicated and declared deposed by the Pope. There may have been discussions. But be this as it may, Enzo was kept securely.

There are stories that Enzo made an attempt to escape. In the chronicle of Francesco Maria Guidotti, against the year 1265 there is the terse, but suggestive statement: "The head of a 'brentadore' was cut off, who had carried King Hentio in the 'brenta' out of prison: in going down the stairs the long hair of the said King Hentio was seen coming out of the 'brenta.'" Many other chroniclers of the fifteenth century tell the tale, but there is no mention of it in the oldest fourteenth century chronicles. The story, as it appears in Ghirardacci, is that Pietro degli Asinelli assisted the King in his plan for escape. Pietro found a certain "brentatore," a great strong man, and under pledge of secrecy confided to him his designs. The "brentatore" was induced to undertake his part by the promise of a large reward. On the pretext of bringing good wine for the King,

he gained access to the sala of the Palazzo. Having emptied the "brenta," Enzo placed himself inside it, and the stout "brentatore" carried him down into the open as gaily as if his "brenta" had been empty. But ere they reached the place where Rainerio was waiting with the horses ready for flight, a soldier spied the golden hair of the King emerging from the top of the "brenta." He gave the alarm, Filippo was stopped and the King retaken. Rainerio and Filippo were beheaded in the piazzo. Pietro Asinelli had time to escape, but his goods were confiscated and he was banished for ever from the city. Another version of the story says that it was a woman who discovered the King in the "brenta." Such is the story, and two bas-reliefs in the Palazzo del Podestà testify to the popular belief in it. But the Statutes and city records give no evidence of it, though the Statutes do give evidence of the successful escape of certain of the prisoners of this same battle, in 1253.

The custode of the prison, Michele Fornaio di Saragozza, and four others were "bandito nel capo" and fined 100 lire di bolognini. Enzo solaced himself in his long years of captivity by writing verses, and he was accounted a graceful "trouvère." Only two poems, one canzone, and a sonnet authenticated as his have come down to us, but there were probably many more among those papers mentioned in his will and bequeathed to the care of "Guilielminum de Sancto Georgio, Jacobinum Abbatis, et Nicolaum." Among the witnesses of the will was

Luchetto Gattalusi Genovese, then Podestà of Bologna, and himself a graceful "trouvère." At the beginning of March, 1272, Enzo became seriously ill. It was only then that he made his will, and he signed it on March 6th. Two codicils were added on March 7th, and on March 14th "il Rè Enzo" died. His daughter Helena, who had married Guelfo d'Ugolino da Donoratico, already had two little sons, Enrico and Ugolino, whom he made his heirs. Two other daughters, supposed to be illegitimate, are mentioned and commended to the care of his relative Alfonso, King of Castile. In his will Enzo left the choice of his place of burial to Ottaviano, Bishop of Bologna, but by the second codicil he revoked this disposition and expressed his wish to be buried in the great Dominican church. Here, then, he was laid to rest with the pomp suitable to his royal dignity, the Commune meeting the cost of the funeral. In the words of the MS. chronicle of Negri :—" his body embalmed and placed on a bier covered with the finest scarlet, with clothes of the same, lined with ermine. On his head was a crown of gold set with gems, and a sceptre of gold in his hand. He was carried under a canopy of crimson velvet, lined with miniver, with most solemn pomp to the church of the Dominican friars, preceded by the clergy and followed by the magistrates and all the nobility." It was thus that the Bolognese paid the last honours to the brave young King, whom they had feared in life, and refused to set at liberty lest

his energy should prove a menace to their civic freedom.

The first inscription on his tomb was written by that same Rolandino Passeggeri who defied the Emperor. The inscription now to be seen in S. Domenico was placed at the last restoration of his tomb in 1731.

In 1375 the Public Archives were transferred to the Palazzo del Podestà, and were placed in those rooms that had been occupied by King Enzo. The change was occasioned by a fire in the Palazzo della Biada, where the archives were previously kept, which had destroyed many valuable documents. Later, in 1439, the celebrated Bull of Pope Eugenius IV for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches—called the "Bolla dello Spirito Santo" —was placed among these archives.

Pope Alexander V died at Bologna in 1410, and the Conclave of Cardinals for the election of the new Pope was held in the Palazzo del Podestà. The old "Sala del Consiglio" and the adjoining rooms were prepared for the Conclave. A wall was raised along the whole length of the great hall with divisions for thirty beds. There were rich hangings and curtains embroidered with the arms of each Cardinal. The eighteen Cardinals and their secretaries were shut up in these rooms in accordance with the usual forms on May 14th. For their custody and for supplying them with food two Anziani were chosen, assisted by two Massari delle Arti, Malatesta Malatesti Lord of Pesaro, the

Marchese d'Este, Lord of Ferrara, and Nicolo Roberti of Reggio, with a sufficient force of soldiers. The Pope elected by this Conclave was John XXIII: as Baldassare Cossa he had been the Legate at Bologna.

There have been many changes in the extensive block of buildings that is called by the name of the Palazzo del Podestà. The original grace of outline and beauty of the thirteenth century architecture have been lost. The outside staircase is no more; of the bridge connecting the older and the newer parts of the Palazzo only traces remain, built in and hidden by later additions. There are indications at many points of what has been, and a beginning of restoration has been made in the windows and "merlatura" of the Palazzo del Rè Enzo, replaced in 1906 under the direction of Sig. Cav. Rubbiani: and yet further restorations are designed. The facciata of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, towards the great Piazza, and facing S. Petronio, continued till 1483, when it was pulled down to give place to the Renaissance work designed in accordance with the taste of the age. This older façade, besides its portico, had a pretty arcade of round arches resting on single shafts on the first floor. In the centre was the "Renghiera" or balcony which, Alidosi tells us, was made in 1256. From this balcony the Podestà exercised his judicial functions, his standards being officially set up. The sentences on malefactors were read from the balcony, and the names of

those who were banished or imprisoned within bounds were there published. This balcony is shown in a seventeenth century water colour copy of an older miniature which exists in the Archivio di Stato. The original miniature was in the archives of S. Michele del Mercato di Mezzo. The church was near to the Palazzo del Podestà, and the pious Confraternity belonging to it was wont to minister comfort to the criminals condemned to death. The miniature shows a condemned criminal on the balcony, whither he had been brought for the reading of his sentence. The Frate is ministering religious comfort to him, and will accompany him to the place of execution.

It was in 1253 that it was proposed that the Palazzo del Comune should be made the residence of the Podestà. In time it became known as the Palazzo del Podestà, and the name eventually came to include the whole group of buildings. The documents show reconstruction carried on in the Palazzo; a vast hall was made in 1447, and works under the direction of Bartolomeo Fieravanti and Aristotele Fieravanti were executed between 1450 and 1469. The decoration of the new façade was the work of the years 1492–1494. Many names of workers are recorded, and the work seems to have been directed by Giovanni Brensa and Francesco di Dozza: but it has been impossible to discover the name of the architect who designed the new building. The portico was renewed in the sixteenth century, and it has been in part recently restored.

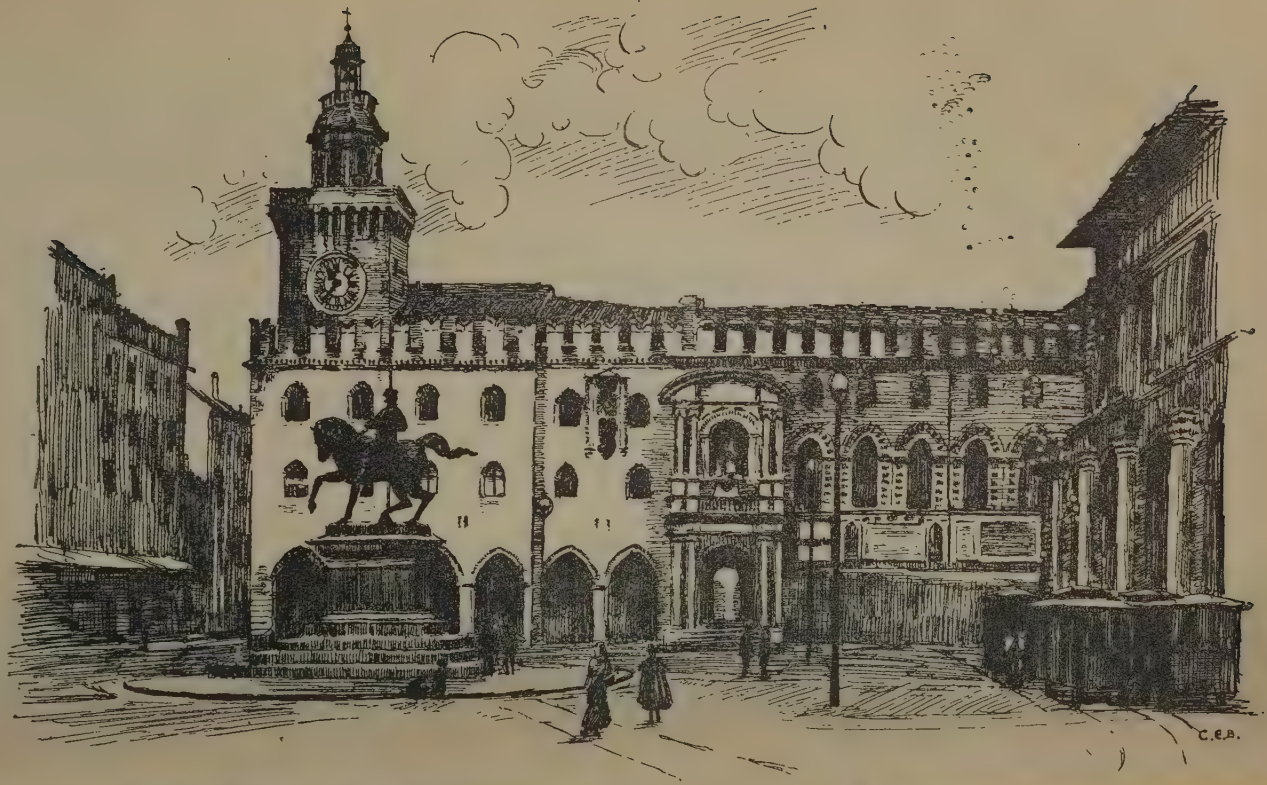
The Cav. Rubbiani is of opinion that the stables for the "Carroccio" of the Commune were included within the buildings of this Palazzo Vecchio del Comune, though many chroniclers state that it was kept in a church. Perhaps this was the case with its most sacred trappings. Giordani says that the "Carroccio" of the Italian communes was as the ark of the Israelites. It was the rallying point in battle, and it was defended by the bravest warriors. Its loss was regarded as the worst misfortune and dishonour. The "Carroccio" was devised by Ariberto, Archbishop of Milan in 1039, to inspire his troops in their contests with the Emperor. One after another the Italian communes adopted the idea. We first hear of the "Carroccio" of Bologna in 1171, in connection with a war with Faenza. It is thus described by Leandro degli Alberti: "It was a square edifice of wood, supported by four wheels of size large enough to contain conveniently ten armed men; it was surrounded by an ornamental balustrade. In the midst was planted a pole 12 ft. high, with the banner of red silk on which was the white cross. From the summit of this pole were drawn many cords to those standing around, and above it shone a beautiful cross of gold. A valiant and courageous knight had charge of this edifice; he was elected by the Senate, and a fine coat of mail and a splendid sword were given to him so that he should be respected and honoured by all. A priest, in his sacred vestments, always stood on the 'Carroccio,' in battle.

CARROCCIO OF THE COMMUNE

Eight trumpeters, in the pay of the city, preceded this superb edifice." The car had its peaceful uses as well as its primary use in war. Alberti tells us: "Also they conducted this 'Carroccio,' very richly adorned, to meet distinguished personages, so that they might be the more honourably received and conducted into the city. There were then mounted upon it, not armed men, but men grave and of civic dignity." No contemporary pictorial representation of the "Carroccio" is known to exist; our picture is from an artistic reproduction of the original "Carroccio" of the Archbishop of later date, but true to the descriptions of the earlier chroniclers. The car was drawn by two or more pairs of fine oxen, and the oxen and the car itself were draped with rich draperies. The men who guided the oxen were dressed in white and purple. The bell which hung in front of the banner was called the "Martinella": it was dedicated to its office with a blessing. It was used to incite the warriors to battle; it also sounded the retreat when that became necessary. Mass was celebrated at the altar on the "Carroccio" in the presence of the whole army. A body of 1,500 infantry, picked troops, were specially charged with the defence of the "Carroccio."

The growing importance and business of the Commune was found to need yet another Palazzo for its offices and the accommodation of its officers. The worthy history of the Palazzo Pubblico has yet to be written, though there are several interesting

articles dealing with some of its phases. We find mention of it in chronicles from the year 1290, and the documents show that the Commune began to purchase houses on the site in 1287. The Palazzo of the jurist Accursius stood at the corner of the Piazza where the clock tower now crowns the building. This house was purchased by the Commune on February 14th, 1287, for "3,700 monete bolognese," about 19,590 lire. Purchases of adjoining houses were made on March 7th and 8th. The Parte Guelfa was at this time dominant in Bologna, and the purchases are made in the name of the "universita e governo di parte geremea," for the purpose of making a "Palazzo della Biada" or public granary. There had been times of scarcity in Bologna, one being precisely in this year 1287. In 1289 the house of Accursius was already in use as a granary, and the officials who presided over it were established in the adjoining house, which had been purchased from the Guezzi. It seems that the rebuilding was begun in 1293, and the "Historia Miscella" states that the Palazzo nuovo del Comune was finished in 1295. Certainly it was completed before 1301, as all the chroniclers agree in stating that in that year the statue of Pope Boniface VIII was placed in the "facciata" of the Palazzo della Biada. The statue, which was of bronze gilt, was the work of the Bolognese artist Manno. Ghirardacci says it was the first public statue erected in Bologna since the time of the Roman Emperors. It remained in its place till the troublous times of



Piazza Victor Emmanuel

PALAZZO PUBBLICO AND CORNER OF THE PALAZZO DEL PODESTÀ

PIAZZA NETTUNO, WITH PALAZZO PUBBLICO, PALAZZO DEL RÈ ENZO, AND THE

1796; it was then deposed and is now in the Museo Civico. It is specially interesting as representing the first Pope who adopted the triple crown; and it marks the gratitude of the people of Bologna to the Pope for his judgment in their favour against the Modenese in the question of dominion over the castles of Bazzano and Savignano.

The Palazzo della Biada was built with a fine open "portico." Six rows of pointed arches with fine vaulting and massive pillars extended back from the front on the great piazza, and were open also on the south side along the via di Porta Nova, now called at that end via delle Asse. On this side the portico was closed when the Anziani came to reside in the Palazzo della Biada in 1336. More building was going on three years later, as it is recorded that Taddeo Pepoli and his two sons went formally to lay the first stone of a Palazzo which should adjoin that of the Biada on the side towards S. Pietro. Later the two palaces were joined together. In 1365 Cardinal Aldroino surrounded the vast space which is now included in the Palazzo Pubblico with walls and towers. The enclosure measured 140 metres by 132. The portico of the Palazzo della Biada was now entirely closed, the wall was scarped, and along it a trench was made into which water was conducted. There was a drawbridge to the one gate of the palace; this was where there is still the chief entrance from the great piazza. The Palazzo Pubblico thus became

a huge fortress, and it still retains much of that in its outside appearance.

About 1424 there was a great fire in the Palazzo Pubblico, which necessitated rebuilding. The architect for this reconstruction was Fieravante Fieraventi. He had working under him for the works in terra cotta and stone Domenico di Andrea da Fiesole, Domenico di Sandro da Fiesole, Nicolo di Piero da Firenze, Antonio di Simone da Firenze, and Tommaso di Giovanni Fiorini. The greater part of this work still remains. The fine cortile is one of the earliest instances of the return to the round arch, combining it with the pointed arch in the windows and remains of Gothic inspiration in the forms of the decorations.

We first find mention of a garden within the walls of the Palazzo in 1365, and in the contracts between 1490 and 1500, Giacomo Achi constructed the garden for the Anziani, and it is mentioned in the Cronaca del Novacula in 1508. In 1564 the great scientist Ulisse Aldrovandi, finding in his teaching the need for a Botanical Garden, induced the University to apply to the Senate and the Vice Legate for facilities to form one. After much deliberation the great Cortile or "prato" of the Palazzo Pubblico was assigned for this purpose, and the garden was laid out in 1568. F. Terribilia constructed a fine well in this garden in 1587. His classical erection was removed to the cortile of the Accademia di Belle Arti, when the garden was transferred to the Orto della Viola. The space it

occupied within the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico is now filled by the Borsa di Commercio con Loggia per gli Agricoltori. The Bourse was built in 1886 from the designs of Filippo Buriani. The Cronaca del Novacula also mentions the building of houses inside the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico for soldiers. And indeed many additions to the buildings have been made at various dates.

The "scaloni a rampa cordonati" or spiral staircase was designed by Bramante in 1508: it replaced a wooden staircase. An anonymous chronicle of contemporary date records that "in this year (1509) were made the stone stairs by which one could mount on horseback to the very top, and the Cardinal Legate, Francesco Alidosi, returning from Milan, ascended them on a horse. But "tempora mutantur," now by a notice at the foot of that staircase :—"It is forbidden to mount to the upper floors on a bicycle."

A good deal of work in the way of alteration and restoration was done in the Palazzo Pubblico between the years 1583 and 1587, under the direction of Francesco Morandi, the younger Terribilia. A document of that date shows that the apartments of the Legate, on the first and third floors, quarters for his household, stables, kitchens, and other offices for his service, the apartments and offices for the Vice Legate, were in dependence on the "Camera di Roma." To it also belonged quarters for the officials of the Legation, the armoury of the "Camera Apostolica," the upper staircase of the

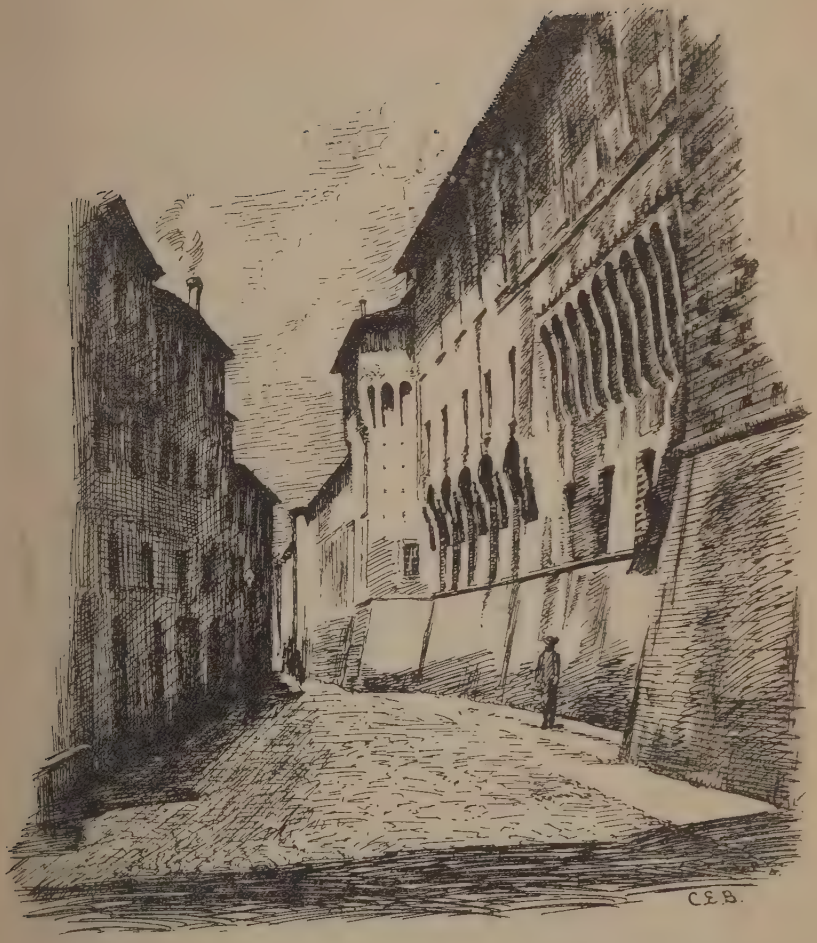
Palazzo, the Sala Farnese, and adjoining chapel and all the roofs of these upper apartments belonging to the Legate and his household. In the charge and control of the "Camera di Bologna" were the "appartamento" of the Gonfaloniere, the Government Hall, the public gallery, the room for the "Assunteria," the apartments, halls, chapels, and offices for the Anziani and their household, cellars, the rooms of the "cancelleria del Reggimento," and all the other public offices belonging to the Government, its "Assunterie," and to the Anziani. Also the armoury of the Palazzo, the residence of the Magistrate "dei Collone," the Sala of Hercules, the "loggia" leading to the rooms of the Gonfalone and the Anziani; gates of the Palazzo, the three cortiles, quarters for the "Guardia Svizzera," the cavalry, the bombardiers; chapels, stables, and offices for these, the clock tower, the prisons called "*le Furbare*," with a chapel annexed, and the rest of the roofs not in the charge of the "Camera di Roma," and the pavements.

The Monte di Pieta had charge of the Foro del Torrone and the room of the chief notary.

The custom house controlled the Botanical Gardens and its well.

The Commune was responsible for certain "loggie" and for the staircase leading to the Torrone.

Now the rooms formerly occupied by the Papal Legates form the "appartamento" of the Prefect of the Province. They include that fine Sala Urbana which is frescoed all round with the arms of



PALAZZO PUBBLICO, WEST SIDE

the Legates sent to Bologna by the Popes, beginning with "Bertrand Cardinal di Podietto. Gaulis, 1327," and ending with "Giorgius Doria, Card. Legatus, 1744." Above the three lines of the heraldic shields of the Legates are arranged at intervals, and in more imposing size, the arms of those Legates who subsequently became Popes. In more recent times this hall has been used as a ball-room. The Sala d'Ercole takes its name from the large terra-cotta statue of Hercules: it is the work of Alfonso Lombardi. Attached to the walls are two Marzocchi, and figures of Strength and Justice, dating from 1464. Most interesting of all in this fine hall is the fresco by Fr. Francia, known as the "Madonna del Terremoto." It was painted in 1505 after a terrible earthquake. The Madonna and Child throned in the sky have beneath them the city of Bologna, with its walls and towers. This view is specially important as showing Bologna as it was at the date of the painting of the picture. The Madonna and Child have the grace and sweetness so characteristic of Francia's ideal for them. The picture was painted with the votive intent similar to the Gonfaloni of the Umbrian Bonfigli. It has been twice moved; first, from a room of the Anziani, it was transferred to their chapel in 1685, and it was brought to its present position in 1897. The Sala del Consiglio Provinciale has a very fine frescoed ceiling, the fine figure of Irnerius and the background representing the return of the Bolognese troops from the battle of Fossalta, being the work

of Luigi Serra, and the decorative parts by Luigi Samoggia. In the Sala del Consiglio Comunale the vaults were frescoed by Colonna and G. Pinedi. There are other rooms with good modern decorative work.

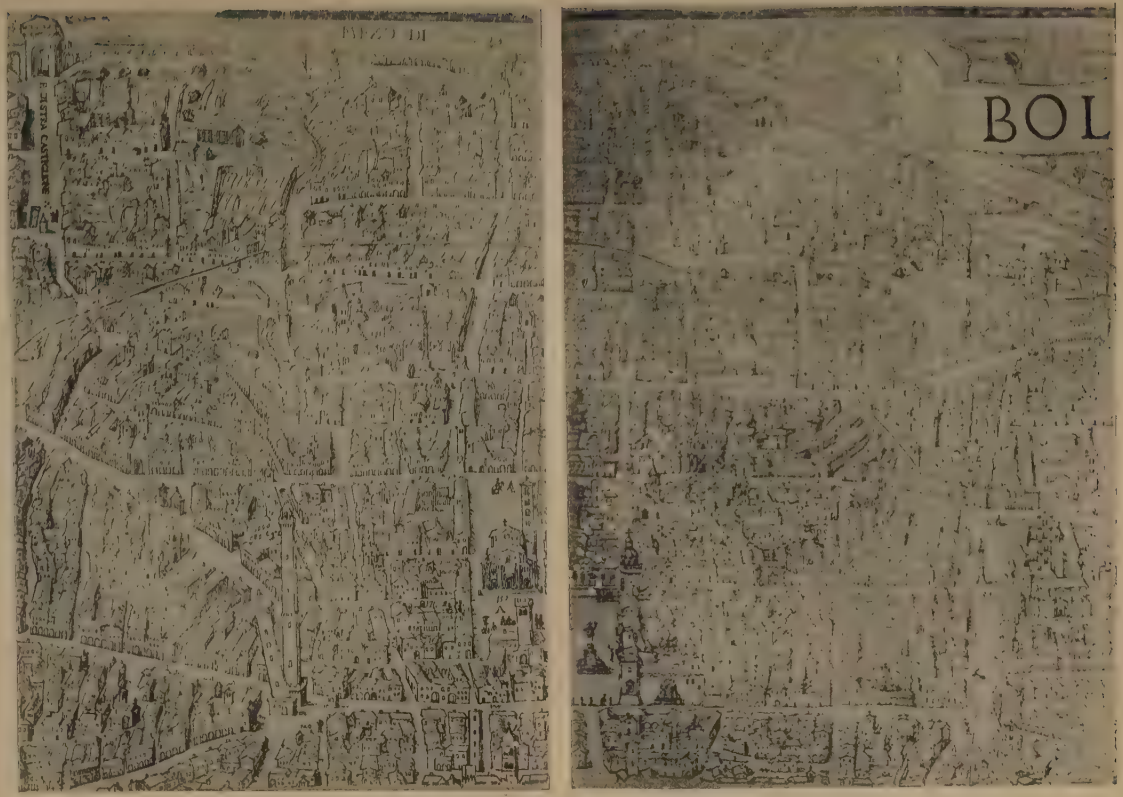
Above, on the higher floor, is the Sala Farnese, which takes its name from the large bronze statue of Pope Alexander VII, by Dorastante d'Osio (1660). The paintings on the wall are much damaged. They represent incidents in the history of Bologna. The artists were Francesco Quaini, Carlo Cignani, Luigi Scaramuccia, Bonini, Pasinelli, and the elder Bibbiena, all belonging to the seventeenth century.

All the offices of the Prefecture of the Province of Bologna are within the circuit of the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico as well as the Council Hall and the official residence of the Prefect. The Palazzo Pubblico also contains the Council Hall and the offices of the Sindaco and the Municipal Government. There are the offices of the department of Public Instruction, the offices for the registration of birth and marriages, and the Quaestura. The fire engines are established in the fine vaulted hall, which was formerly the lower part of the Palazzo della Biada. The outer line of arches of this Palazzo was again opened to view in 1885–1887, and the fine pointed arches and their massive piers were carefully restored. The "Guardia della Città" are housed in the cortile, that has its entrance from the via Ugo Bassi.

There are many interesting tablets and inscriptions both within the great cortile and on the outer façade of the Palazzo Pubblico. Some are to the memory of the heroes of the Risorgimento time, one being to the memory of the Cairoli; some are in connection with the Royal House of Savoy and the making of the new kingdom, and one to the memory of those who fell in the African campaign.

The remaining points of interest on the outside walls are:—the fine terra-cotta "Madonna and Child," the work of Nicolo dell' Arca in 1478. It commemorates the victory of the Bolognese at Ghergenzano over Luigi del Verme and the army of the Duke of Milan which he was commanding. This was in the time of Annibale I. Bentivoglio. The fine pointed windows with their rich terra-cotta mouldings were the work of Fieravante Fieraventi, 1425–1429; about the same date as the cortile within. The massive entrance gate was designed by Galeazzo Alessi in the time of Pope Julius III and completed by Domenico Tibaldi. The fine statue of Pope Gregory XIII was modelled by Alessandro Menganti, and cast by Anchise Censori in 1580. It narrowly escaped destruction in the republican excitement after the entry of the French in 1796. It was only saved by the device of converting the triple crown into the mitre of S. Petronio. This work was done by Angelo Rasori. A pastoral staff was placed in his right hand, and the inscription added "Divus Petronius Protector et Pater." Thus Gregory escaped the fusion to

which he had been sentenced, and has survived to be restored to his right name and his Papal dignity. Beyond, northwards, is a great window on the ground floor. The design of it is attributed to Serlio, and popular tradition asserts that the more finely sculptured of the two eagles is the work of Michelangelo. In the scarp of the wall below this window marble slabs have been inserted in which were cut the trade measures and measures for land surveying. They were standards for the prevention of fraud in the manufacture of cloths, tiles, and other articles. At present the head Post Office comes within the next stretch of wall; but it will soon be removed when the fine new Palazzo della Posta is completed. Round the corner, in the via Ugo Bassi, beyond the entrance to the Borsa di Commercio, is the Fontana Vecchia, constructed by Gio Andrea della Porta from the design of Tommaso Laureti in 1565. It is adorned with the Medici arms, the arms of the then reigning Pope.



TWO SECTIONS OF MAP OF BOLOGNA, 1724
MAP IN EIGHT SECTIONS, IN THE BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE

CHAPTER IX

THE PALAZZO DEI NOTARI, THE MERCANZIA, AND THE LEANING TOWERS

In cuius medio Turris altissima a nobili et vetusta Asellorum gente constructa.

NICOLÒ BURZIO.

THE "Domus Magna Notariorum," or Palace of the Notaries, was built in 1278, at the time when Rolandino Passeggeri was Rector of the Company. This first "Domus" was only half the size of the present Palazzo, and was built on that part of the site which adjoins the via Pignattari. At the opposite corner of this street, where now is the north-west angle of S. Petronio, was a barracks for the civic guards, which were kept ready at hand to deal with the disturbances that arose so suddenly in mediaeval piazzas. In 1384 the "Domus" was very seriously in want of repairs, and the Rector and other officials and the council of the "Compagnia dei Notari" held meetings to consider the dilapidations and the ways and means Practically a complete rebuilding was necessary, and the funds having been voted after much debate, the work was entrusted to Maestro Lorenzo da Bagnomarino, engineer to the Commune, and to Maestro Antonio di Vicenzo, mason and engineer

to the Gonfalonieri. Maestro Lorenzo was already making his fame with his work on the "loggia" of the Mercanzia, and Maestro Antonio had acquired the credit which, a few years later, won for him the distinction of being chosen as the architect for the design of the great church of S. Petronio.

When finished, the Palazzo was a very fine building. The marble shafts supporting the sub-arches of its three great windows came from Pisa, and their capitals were sculptured by Maestro Giovanni di Ruguzzo. Below were the little offices of the money-changers. An artist had been employed to decorate the walls with colour, and the "merlatura" that crowned the walls was gay with the heraldic colours of the arms of the Company and of the Commune. The "massaro" Azzone, from whose accounts we gain much information about the work, was a kindly employer of labour. He encouraged work with liberal payments "da bere"; and on one occasion, when the masons worked on till midnight to secure the foundations, because they were threatened with the fall of the adjoining house, he ordered a supper of eggs, bread, cheese, and wine for the men. The Palazzo was enlarged between the years 1416 and 1422, and the style of building was made to correspond with that of the older part. There was work going on inside the building in 1437, and most elaborate decoration of the great "sala" in 1454 and 1463. In 1514 and 1515 Andrea di Pietro Formigine was engaged to design a new ceiling for the great

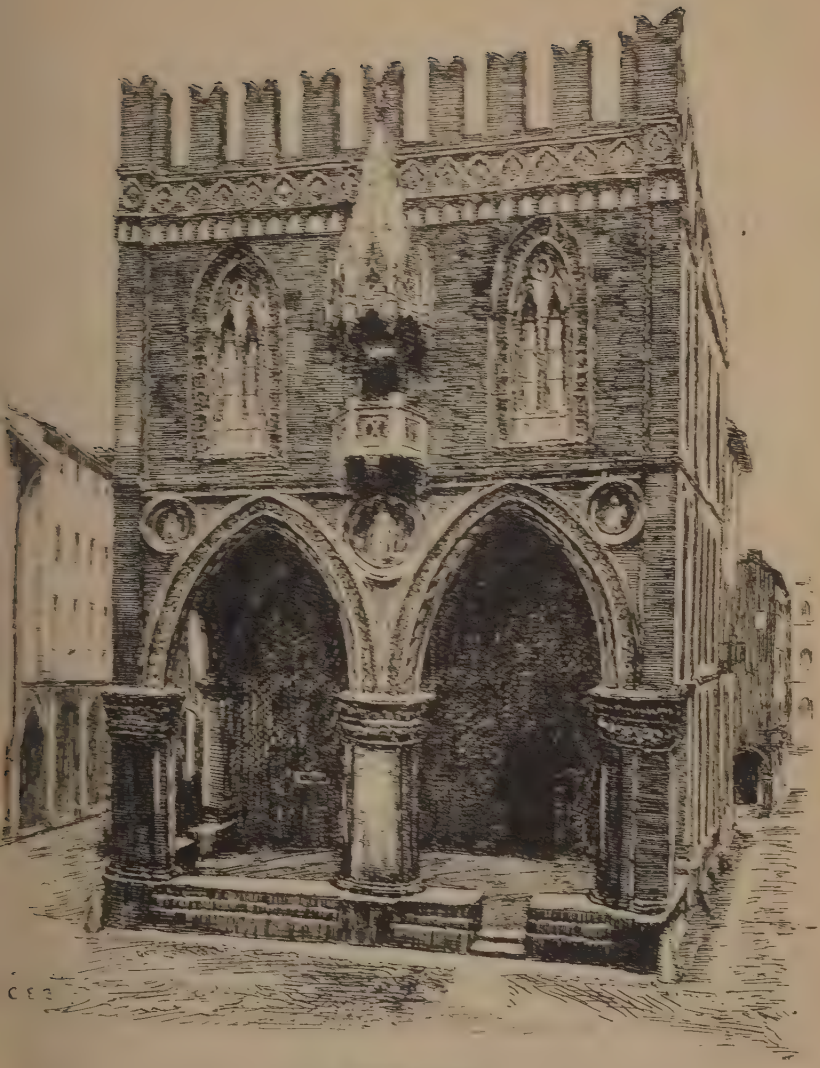
"sala." This he executed with the help of his brother Bartolomeo. The frieze below it was painted by Bartolomeo di Bagnacavallo.

The Palazzo dei Notari afforded hospitality to the Anziani in 1429. After a troublous time the city had once more submitted to the Pope—Martin V. One of the conditions of the peace was that the apartments of the Anziani in the Palazzo Pubblico should be given to the Legate for his residence. They remained in the Palazzo dei Notari about eight years, paying a yearly rental of 750 lire: in 1438 they returned to their usual quarters in the Palazzo Pubblico. On two other occasions the Anziani migrated to the Palazzo dei Notari to make room for ecclesiastical dignitaries. In 1510, when Pope Julius II came for the second time, the Pope occupied the Palazzo Pubblico. And again in 1529, when at the coronation of the Emperor Charles V the great Palazzo hardly sufficed to provide accommodation for Pope Clement VII, the Emperor, and their respective suites. This fine old building has just been restored to its original beauty under the care of the "Comitato per Bologna storica-artistica."

The Mercanzia, or Foro dei Mercanti, dates from the same architectural period as the Palace of the Notaries. As early as 1294 the Commune had held a house in the "carrobbio" of Porta Ravegnana. This house was used for offices of customs and taxes. Another house for the same purposes was purchased in 1337 from the bankers, and a

third in 1380 from the heirs of Pepoli. It was necessary to adapt and partly rebuild the houses, and the work was begun towards the close of 1382. At the same time it was designed to build the "loggia." The control of the work was entrusted to Maestro Lorenzo di Domenico, the engineer of the Commune. He was a Bolognese by birth, and was called Bagnomarino from the street in which he lived. A very beautiful little building he designed, with its perfect proportions and its rich terra-cotta ornamentation. The beautiful terra-cotta mouldings, little capitals, and other ornaments for this building were sculptured like marble—not stamped. There is infinite variety of design. There have been later changes and adaptations inside the building, but the beautiful façade has been preserved to us as originally designed.

It is not known exactly at what date the "University of Merchants" of Bologna was first organized. But from a very early date they enjoyed special privileges, and later they were favoured by the Popes. In 1382 it was decided to appoint a special judge for the judicial business of the Foro dei Mercanti. The Anziani and other dignitaries chose four men to whom they entrusted the charge of selecting the first to fill this office. They nominated Dr. Pietro Cattani de' Montessero di Novara, and he was followed by a long line of successors till the suppression of the Company. Changes were made in 1802 and 1803, and in 1808 a new Chamber of Commerce was instituted. High up



THE MERCANZIA

in the building of the Foro was a great bell which was rung to announce the times at which the magistrates of the Company would dispense justice. The bell has an inscription recording that it was made by one Bonaccursius, in the time of the judge Marescotti, giving also the names of the consuls. The bell is now in Sala XVII of the Museo Civico. There is a fine old Guild House near in the Piazza Ravegnana. It was built for the Guild of the Stracciajuole, or Drappieri,—the Drapers. It has been suggested that it was designed by Fr. Francia. No proof of this exists, and it does not seem possible to determine who was the architect. It was built in 1496 and is now called the Casa Malaguti.

The leaning towers are among the most characteristic features of Bologna. We see them prominently in pictures and engravings of the town, both those which represent it most truthfully and those which are only in some sort emblematic. The towers have been taken as a representative emblem of the town, and in that way have been used on coins of both early and late date. The Torre degli Asinelli occupied a considerable time in building, and was completed in 1109, according to the statement of Villola, the most trustworthy early chronicler, and of other chroniclers. Some chroniclers give the dates 1111, 1117, and 1119; but it seems reasonable to trust to the clear statement of the best authority that it was finished in 1109. The family of the Asinelli, who built the tower, were already wealthy and distinguished. Their names

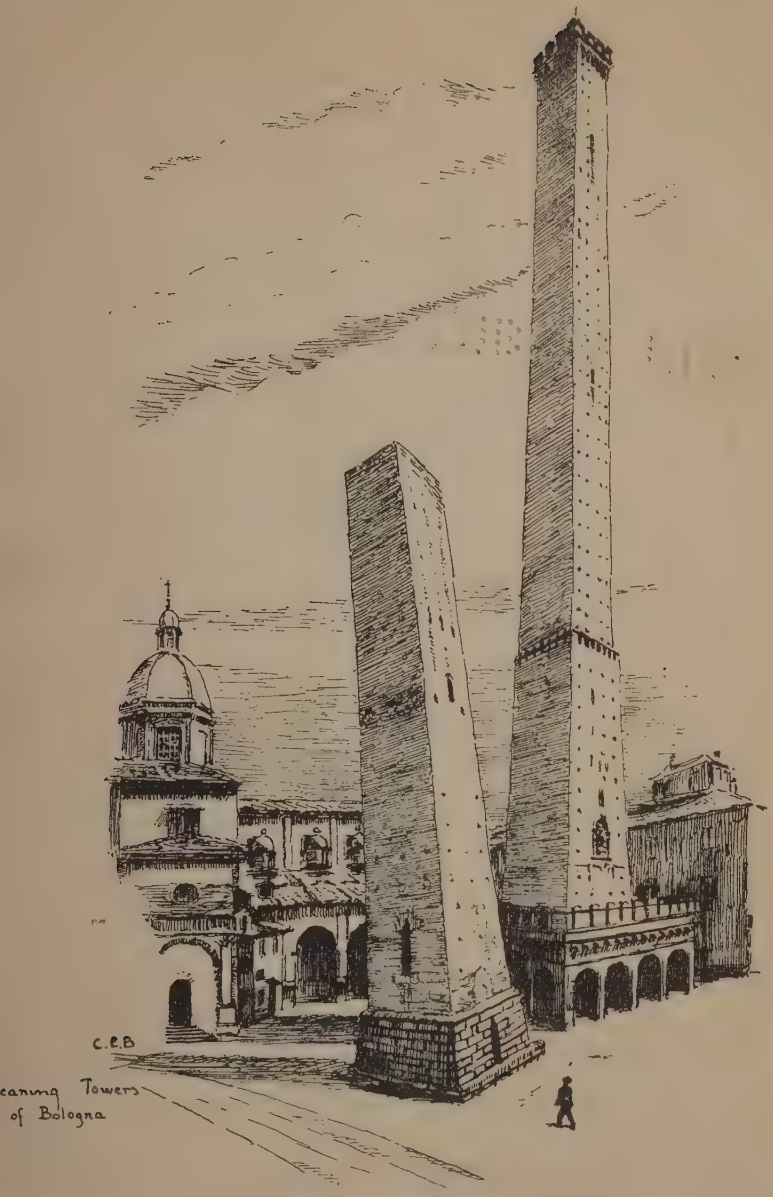
are mentioned from early times onwards as filling important offices in the State. The latest mentioned is the Asinelli, who died in 1723. For a time the tower was held in trust and could not be alienated from the family, portions of it being the property of various members of the family. But in 1286 the restrictions of the trust were ended by a deed, and the Commune then purchased three parts of the tower, together with houses on sites close to it. It was not till 1398 that the Commune obtained complete proprietorship in the tower by legacy of the remaining portion of it from Bishop Guglielmo Mezzavacca. Even before this date a captain and a guard of four soldiers had been placed in the tower. In 1403 the two towers, the Asinelli and the Garisenda, were enclosed by a wall, and the garrison was increased to a captain and twenty-five men.

There has been much controversy on the question whether the "pendenza," or inclination in the tower, was originally intended by its constructors, or whether it was due to the subsidence of the ground on which it was built. It is a highly technical point to determine. To lay common-sense it is difficult to understand how this tall, slender tower should have stood firm through so many centuries if the ground on which it was built was unstable. There is no crack or unevenness in the masonry, which we should naturally look for as the result of yielding foundations: the courses of small bricks lie evenly one above the other. The

best expert opinion takes the view that there was a slight subsidence of the ground on the west side, and a yet slighter subsidence on the south soon after the lower part of the tower was built. The "pendenza" of the tower has been examined and reported on by experienced engineers several times from 1706 onwards. A stone with an inscription inserted in the tower records the results of the examination of 1706, but no indication remains of the method by which those results were obtained. The most exact scientific examination was that made by Prof. Respighi in 1856, and his report remains in the archives of the Commune. He had already made some experiments on the tower four years earlier. He is of opinion that there has been no increase in the "pendenza" of the tower since that caused in the earliest days of its construction. He considers that the tower was built in many stages and at successive intervals of time. And he notices indications that in each successive section, which may be described as the "trunk" of a pyramid, it was sought to correct the "pendenza" of the portion which had been previously built, and which by its weight had caused a subsidence in the soil under its foundations. There was considerable perturbation in the minds of the Bolognese in 1871 when a citizen named Filopanti addressed a letter to the Sindaco declaring his conviction that the "pendenza" of the tower had been steadily increasing by measurable degrees, and demanding that it should be pulled down either wholly or in

part, or strengthened and made safe. This he declared to be necessary, if not for the safety of the living generation, at least for that of their children. Prof. Respighi was requested to verify his former observations. This he did in conjunction with Signor Filopanti, and he succeeded in reassuring him, together with his alarmed fellow-citizens. In these later researches Respighi made the interesting discovery of a note showing that in the testing in 1706 it had been observed that the walls of the little cupola at the top for the bell were then truly vertical. He tested carefully and found that they were still truly vertical in 1872. He concluded that this was good evidence that there had been no change in the verticality of the tower since 1398, in which year the brick cupola had been substituted for the earlier wooden erection.

There have been frequent fires in the tower, which have burnt the wooden staircase and other internal constructions. One of these fires had recently occurred when in January, 1306, the Anziani ordered a great illumination to be made on the top of the tower to celebrate the joy of the citizens of Bologna at the expulsion of their enemy Azzo d'Este from Modena and of the Marchese Manfredino da Sassuolo from Reggio. There were no stairs by which to climb to the top. It is recorded that " one named Gozzo di Beccari climbed up with two pieces of pole, fixing them in one hole after the other. He kindled the fire and sounded



THE LEANING TOWERS

the bell all night, during which there fell much snow; and next morning he descended the tower in the same way, and for this the Council gave him 10 lire." * Another authority states that the sum was 100 lire, which seems a more suitable recompense for the feat. Many other acrobatic feats on the tower are recorded, and even the distinguished engineer, Andrea Taruffi, who examined it in 1706, made the ascent, being drawn up outside. The latest outside ascents have been made by climbing the iron of the lightning conductor, by Monari in 1878, and again, twenty-five years later, by Galloni, and by Grassi in 1890. On one occasion a brother and sister, having climbed the tower in the evening, were accidentally shut in and remained there all night, including in their novel experiences a slight shock of earthquake.

The tower has several times been struck by lightning; but it has survived this as well as many earthquakes: the last considerable earthquake was in 1779. The tower has been used by scientists for experiments in natural science.

When the great bell placed at the top of the tower was changed for the second time in 1504, a huge bell weighing 5,500 lb. was hung in the cupola. But it was found that this great bell shook the tower so much in ringing, that it was judged more prudent to change back to the one of the more moderate weight of 2,200 lb. The bell now hanging in the tower weighs 1,800 lb., and was

* Alidosi.

placed there in 1513. The bell was rung on occasions of public rejoicing, to give warning when fires occurred, and in the earlier ages it sounded the "curfew." In the Middle Ages there was a lantern on the top of the tower. It was of a curious frying-pan shape, and was lighted as a sign of communal rejoicing and as a signal to communes in the country round. The tower was sometimes used as a place of punishment. From its walls was frequently suspended the "gabbia" or cage in which priests and lay convicts were imprisoned as a punishment. The floor of the cage was little more than a yard square, the sides were of strong iron bars, and it was hung about twenty-two yards from the ground. The victims were kept in this cage till they died. The records of this barbarous punishment extend from 1276 to after the middle of the sixteenth century. The "gabbia" was sometimes suspended on the Palazzo del Podestà or the Palazzo Pubblico.

The height of the tower as determined by Prof. Respighi is 97·90 m., and its "pendenza" is 2·232 p. cent.

The Garisendi, who were the builders of the other leaning tower at about the same date, have also a distinguished record in the annals of their city. It has been suggested that they planned the excessive "pendenza" of their tower in emulation of their neighbours the Asinelli.

The Zambeccari purchased the tower from the Garisendi in 1418. A few years later the Company

of the Drappieri began to acquire rights in it. It has since passed to the Ranuzzi and to the Malvezzi-Campeggi, and now is the property of the Municipio. Dante uses the tower for a comparison in the lines—

"Qual pare a riguarda la Garisenda
sotto il chinato, quando un nuvol vada
sopr'essa sì che ella incontro penda:
tal parve Anteo a me che stava a bada
di vederlo chinare, e fu tal ora
ch'io avrei volut' ir per altra strada."
"Inferno," xxxi. 136–141.

The marvel of the tower is also sung in a sonnet of earlier date.

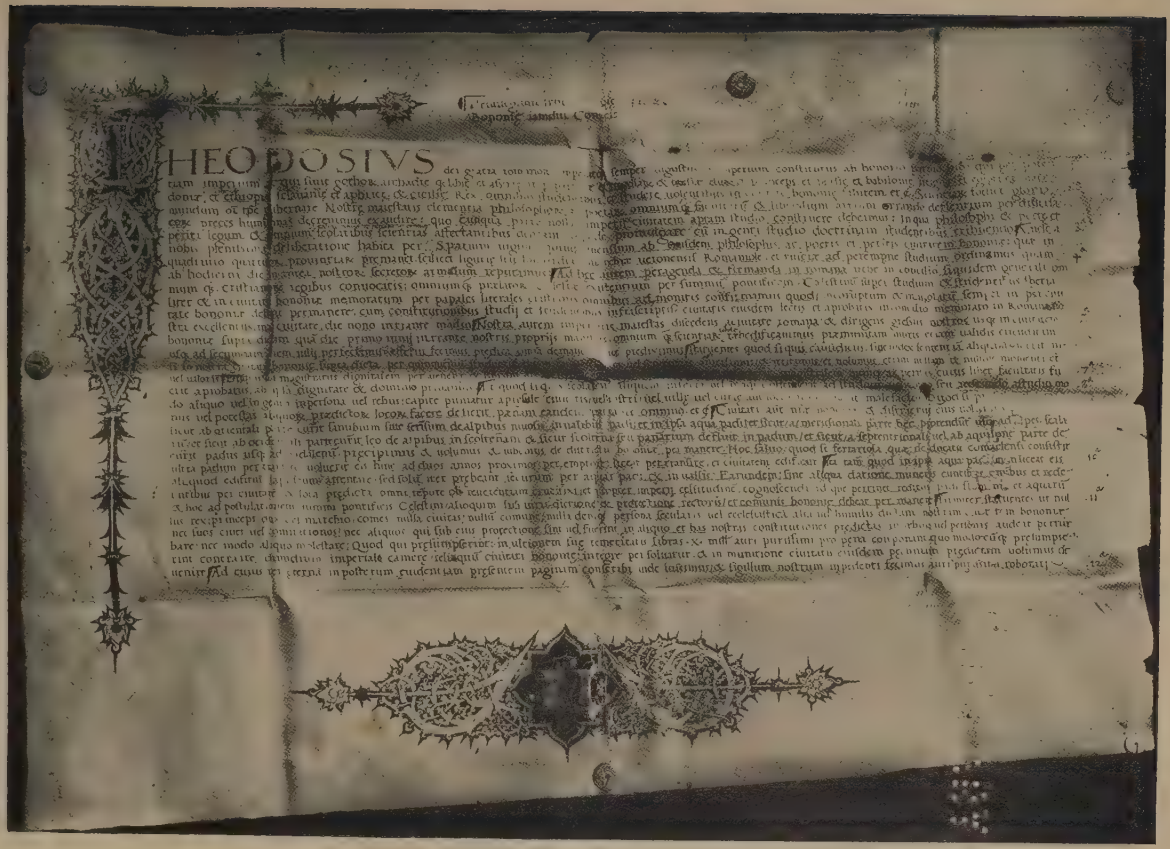
The Garisenda has been taller than it is now: it was lowered by the order of Giov. da Oleggio. From this cutting down it acquired its popular name of the "torre mozza." The height of the Garisenda is now 47 metres, and its "pendenza" is 6·696 per cent.

CHAPTER X

THE UNIVERSITY

Alma Mater Studiorum

THE University of Bologna is the oldest in Europe. Even if we reject the very early date asserted by some writers for its foundation, and acknowledge that medical doctors of the School of Salerno are known from documents at least 100 years earlier than the Bolognese doctors of laws; yet Salerno never became a fully equipped University, with other Faculties besides the medical, and the University of Bologna remains in undisputed pre-eminence. There is preserved in the Archives of Bologna a document which claims to be a "Privilegio" of the Emperor Theodosius II to the University of Bologna, and which has been held by some writers to be its Charter of foundation. Two copies of this document exist. Modern critics declare that they are both forgeries. But they were in existence as early as the thirteenth century, and the Charter of Theodosius is quoted and transcribed as authentic in a register dated A.D. 1257. The fact that the Charter could gain credence then is good proof that the beginnings of the University were already lost in a remote antiquity.



CHARTER OF THEODOSIUS

There is evidence of the existence of a Roman School of Art at Bologna in A.D. 450. How far the educational tradition was continued there through the dark ages that preceded the first revival of learning and culture in the eleventh century there is little or no evidence to show. But there were Bolognese Doctors of Laws in the eleventh century, and the existence of Doctors of Laws presupposes an educational organization capable of conferring the title. Pepo is the first of the long line of distinguished jurists belonging to Bologna of whom we find distinct mention. His name occurs in a document dated A.D. 1072, and again in one dated A.D. 1076. Irnerius had already an established reputation by A.D. 1113, as a document of that year is preserved showing that the Countess Matilda had placed him at the head of the "Causidici" engaged in a case in which she was giving judgment. There are thirteen documents in which we find the name of Irnerius, or Wernerius, or Guarnerius, or Varnerius, and to seven of them his signature is appended: and for his signature Wernerius is the chosen form of his name: once it occurs as Gernerius. The teaching of Irnerius in Bologna effected a great revival in the study of the ancient texts of Roman Law—the Pandects of Justinian. Irnerius was a Professor of the "Liberal Arts" at Bologna before he turned his attention specially to the study of Law and the Law texts. His knowledge and skill in teaching became widely celebrated; the school soon became famous, and students

flocked from all the countries of Europe to study both Civil and Canon Law under Irnerius, and under Professors who had learnt from him. And they were not mostly young students or poor men, but men of position,—sons of Lombard nobles, and ecclesiastical dignitaries from all parts of Europe. Many Papal "Privileges" confer on the ecclesiastics the right to be absent for long periods from the duties of their church preferments for the pursuit of their studies. It is not to be supposed that the University of Bologna possessed at this early date the complete organization of later times. Like all living organisms, it was completed in the course of time by growth and development. Even the name—University—was not appropriated to it with its modern connotation till the fifteenth century. In the earlier centuries its title was "Studium Generale," like that of other old Universities in their beginnings. And Studium Generale means "a place where students from all parts are received." Even the term Studium Generale does not come into common use till the beginning of the thirteenth century. The term "Universitas vestra" was applied to other collective bodies in the Middle Ages, before it was specialized and restricted to meaning the collective body of Masters or Students of an educational institution. And it is to be noted that it is the "University of Masters," or the "University of Students": the term was not in its origin applied to either the place or the School. When the great Guild movement spread

over Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the students of Bologna formed themselves into guilds and chose Rectors and other officers. At first the students of each different nationality chose their own Rector. He was to be their protector against the oppression of town magistrates and the exactions of the citizens. It is probable that there was already some beginning of this organization as early as A.D. 1158, for in that year Frederick Barbarossa granted a "Privilegio," which may, perhaps, be fairly called the "Magna Charta" of Students—it is known as the "Authentic Habita."[1] This "Privilegio" was obtained at the Diet of Roncaglia by the influence of the celebrated Bolognese Doctors of Law—Bulgaro, Jacopo, Martino and Ugo. It has been claimed that these same privileges were granted first to the students of Bologna in 1155, when Frederick I was holding his court in the neighbourhood of Bologna, at Pentecost in that year, and an old Latin poem narrates how the citizens, doctors, and students came out to the Emperor, who graciously enquired after the welfare of the scholars, and whether they were well treated by the citizens. They seem to have been contented on the whole, their chief grievance being that when one scholar did not pay his debts, the citizens were wont to exact payment from his fellow-students. The Emperor took counsel with his nobles, and the poet tells us he promulgated a law ordaining that the students should be treated with respect by the citizens, should be in no way

molested in their coming and going, and that each should be required to pay his own just debts only. These elementary rights are among the privileges conferred on students generally by the Authentic Habita, by which "Privilegio" Frederick took under his protection the large number of students who left their homes and home privileges and often travelled far in pursuit of knowledge. The special "Privilegio" for Bologna, even if it really existed, has not, as far as is known, survived to modern times. The Authentic Habita was incorporated in the "Corpo del Gius Civile."

Another poet furnishes us with further evidence about the early days of the University. A poem which gives an account of the war waged by Milan against Como, lasting from 1118 to 1127, refers to Bolognese allies of Milan, under date 1119, with the words :—

"Docta suas secum duxit Bononia leges."

and under date 1127,—

"Docta Bononia venit et huc cum legibus una."

Here, then, is further proof of the early date of the legal fame of Bologna, from an independent and outside source, and of her already established title as "dotta nelle leggi."

Bologna is the pattern and type of the Student University, and the later established Student Universities have been formed under the influence of the customs and organization of this first great Studium, some of them by migration from Bologna

itself. The year 1244 is the earliest date at which we have documentary evidence of the names of the Rectors, and from that date onwards the record is complete. In 1244 D. Joannes de Varanis was "Rector Ultramontanorum" and D. Pantaleo de Venetis was "scolarium citramontanorum Rector." We see that the change had already been effected from the many Rectors, each representing the students of one nationality (or occasionally of two combined) to one Rector for the students from foreign lands, and one for those from the different provinces of Italy. The natives of Bologna did not belong to either "University"; these students born in the town had their own rights as citizens, and were protected by their own laws, and were expressly forbidden by civic statutes to swear obedience to the Rectors. After a time a modified oath to do nothing to the injury of the University was required from them, and permitted by the town authorities. Their names were inscribed in a "matricula specialis," and only modified dues were required of them on taking their degrees.

Like the earlier Rectors of the Nations, these first Rectors of the two Universities were students, and chosen by their fellow students. The town tried to dispute the right of the students to elect Rectors, and towards the close of the twelfth century we find the jurist Bassianus seriously questioning it. At that time the Professors, being natives of Bologna, were citizens and were often accorded high positions in the State. They were,

therefore, rather inclined to side with the town against the students when differences of opinion arose. The jealousy of the town authorities increased when the union of the various "Nations" for the election of two Rectors only consolidated the power of the Rectors, and would thus facilitate the execution of any possible project for the transference of the Studium to some other town in case of disputes between the students and the town. Migrations of this kind were, in fact, effected,—to Vicenza in 1204, to Arezzo in 1215, and to Padua in 1222. But they were partial migrations, not the transference of the whole Studium. The many civic statutes requiring an oath from Professors that they would not lecture in any other town, nor promote the removal of the Studium from Bologna, are evidence of the great anxiety of the townsmen to prevent these migrations. And from time to time the town tried to enforce a similar oath on the Rectors.

On the other hand, the Professors were required to swear obedience to the Rectors: but on this point there is some discrepancy between the statutes of the University and the statutes of the town, and it is difficult to determine at any given time which law prevailed. In the early days the Professors were natives of Bologna. Their remuneration was fixed by arrangement with their pupils. Usually two students were elected who agreed on the terms and promised for the others, the cost being divided among the members of the

class. In the thirteenth century Odofredus complains that the students are " not good paymasters "; he says " they want to learn, but they do not want to pay." When, later in the century, the civic authorities wished to attract distinguished scholars from other cities, permanent chairs, endowed with salaries, were instituted. The first recorded instance is the appointment of the Spanish Canonist—Garsias—in 1280. In his case the original contract was made with the students, but at their request the Republic eventually undertook to pay him. The sum agreed on was 150 librae a year. In 1289 two chairs were endowed. The election of Professors to these chairs still remained in the hands of the students, even after payment of salaries had been undertaken by the town authorities. And the town was not illiberal in its arrangements when it wished to secure distinguished scholars to teach in the University. The contract in 1428 with Filelfo for the teaching of rhetoric was for 450 scudi a year; and Agostino Bero, in 1504, was to receive 800 gold scudi, and Alciato and Socino, in 1537 and 1541, were to receive 1200 scudi a year for the teaching of Civil Law. These were generous terms when we consider that the value of money at that time was fully four times its present nominal value. Now all the Professors are paid by Government; the University costs the State 1,000,000 lire annually; and the students have lost their right to elect.

Like all great institutions dating from remote

ages, the University has had many changes in its constitution and government, which cannot be described in detail in a short sketch. It is only possible to note the chief turning points. From the time of Frederick Barbarossa the students of Bologna had elected Rectors for the various "Nations." The two Rectors chosen in 1244 were for the Universities of the "Legisti Ultramontani" and the "Legisti Citramontani," that is,—for and from the law students from foreign lands and from Italy. As early as 1268 the students of medicine and arts tried to secure their own separate University and to choose a Rector for themselves. The attempt met with varying success through the remaining years of that century and the earliest years of the fourteenth, and it was not till 1316 that the right they claimed was formally recognized. The grouping in Nations continued after these Nations were united for the constitution of the two Universities, and the Nations in turn had the right to furnish the Rector for the University. In 1265 there were thirteen Ultramontane Nations, and in 1432 there were sixteen. The University of the "Medici" and the "Artisti" consisted of four Nations only.

The honour of the position of Rector was, however, burdened with very heavy expense, and from 1345 onwards there was sometimes great difficulty in finding students able and willing to incur those expenses. The difficulty became more acute in the second half of the fifteenth century, and there were

many years in which only one Rector could be found. From the year 1500, one Rector "utriusque universitatis" of the Jurists becomes almost the rule. In 1564 occurs a prohibition of the election of one Rector only for the Universities of the "Legisti" and the "Artisti." And in consequence they were frequently without Rectors. From 1580 to 1604 no Rectors are to be found. In this latter year G. D. Spinola of Genoa was elected Rector by the students with the title of "Rettor Generale dello Studio." Great were the rejoicings and the festivities which celebrated his election, and the students hoped to recover some of the ancient privileges of which they had been by degrees deprived. For three days the new Rector was acclaimed and carried on the shoulders of the students as he threw money to the populace. Once more there was a Rector with a train of servants in gay livery. There were races and a procession. Spinola was the last student Rector. The encroachments of the Legates on student privileges continued, and in 1742 Cardinal Giulio Alberoni, the Papal Legate, assumed the title of "Rettor dello Studio." The title, and the jurisdiction which it implied, continued to be claimed and exercised by his successors in the Legatine office. It was but the final acknowledgment of the power that his predecessors had been gradually acquiring while they were still content with the more modest titles of "Protettori" and "Patroni" of the University. After the entry of the French into Bologna in

June, 1796, there were various changes in the Government of the University as in the Government of the city itself. The ancient corporations were suppressed. They were restored again for a brief period during the year of the Austrian occupation from July, 1799. The Repubblica Cisalpina, revived on the departure of the Austrians, developed into the Repubblica Italiana, which was proclaimed in 1802. Bologna formed a part of it, and a new Rector was elected for the University, no longer nominated by the students or by the Government, but chosen by the Professors. This Rector was Professor Gregorio Casali Paleotti. Very little change was made when Bologna again passed under Papal jurisdiction in 1815. But the Bull of Leo XII, "Quod divina sapientia," published in August, 1824, restored criminal jurisdiction to the Rector, placed the University in dependence upon an "Arcicancelliere" (who in Bologna was to be the Archbishop), and ordained that the Rector should be nominated by the Pope, and no longer necessarily chosen from the body of the Professors. In 1859 the Government of Romagna changed the title of the Head of the University to that of "Reggente," which title had been used before in Republican and Napoleonic times and for a few months in 1831. But the ancient title of Rector was again restored in 1868, when Cav. Conte Prof. Giambattista Ercolani held the office.

We find many noble and distinguished names in the roll of the Rectors. Among the Ultramontani

were the flower of the German and Spanish nobility, and frequently members of royal houses. Especially frequently after 1532 the Rectors of the Law Students belonged to the Collegio di Spagna, and were members of some of the noblest families in Spain. We meet with the names of Englishmen among the Rectors, as,—D. Guillielmus, Archdeacon of Canterbury, in 1422–23; D. Ivo Brulon, in 1476–77; and D. Thomas Alcok, "vel Abitz" in 1488–89, and many others. The last-named was "pro utraque Universitate Ultramontanorum et Citramontanorum Rector." Also among the Rectors of the "Citramontani" were members of some of the most illustrious families in Italy, such as the Tolomei of Siena, the Visconti of Milan, the Corsini and Davanzati of Florence, the Spinola of Genoa, the Thiene of Mantua, and the Pallavicini, Marchesi di Varano. And the greater number were men already holding important positions in Church or State. Within the past century, the dignity of the Rector having been transferred from the students to the Professors, the office has still been held in honour by the election of men distinguished in science. The Rector at the time of the celebrations in honour of the eight hundredth anniversary of the University was Prof. Comm. Giovanni Capellini, whose name is known in other lands besides his own, and who counts among his many distinctions the Honorary Degree of the University of Edinburgh, and the title of Senatore del Regno in his own country.

The most important of the privileges of the Rector in the ancient University was the right of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, over all members of the University. The original foundation for that right may be traced in the Authentic Habita[1] of Frederick I. The words of the document are :—" However, if anyone wish to bring a suit against them on any matter—the choice of this point lying with the Scholars—let him sue them before their own master or the Bishop of the city itself—to whom we have assigned this jurisdiction."

Papal Bulls from time to time confirmed the statutes of the University. A Bull of Paul III in 1544, and one of Pius IV in 1565, confirmed the civil jurisdiction of the Jurist Rectors. The criminal jurisdiction was at times the subject of controversy. And although the technical right of the Rectors in the earlier ages seems to have been clear, in practice the cases of more serious crimes were carried before the criminal magistrates of the city. The Rector's powers were most extensive. He held the " matricole " of the scholars of the University. It was he who fixed the hours for the Professors' lectures, arranged the time of the vacations, and generally controlled the arrangements of the " Studio." He could present scholars for examination. Until the fourteenth century the Rector also fixed the salaries of the Professors. Among the Rector's privileges was the right of precedence. This right was specifically decreed in 1492 as the right of precedence next after the

Papal Legate, the Bishop, and the "Gonfaloniere di Giustizia." In all connected with the Studio the Rector took precedence of the Doctors, even of those who had participated in the Government of the city as "Anziani." He enjoyed various minor privileges in exemption from the fees for examination and the "laurea," and he was provided with an honorary "chair," with a salary attached. He was also exempted from small taxes and duties, and at the close of his term of office had a right to be appointed to a post as Governor or Podestà in Romagna or the Marches.

There were many quaint customs connected with the University,—one was the presentation of snow. On the first appearance of snow the "consiglieri" of each Nation, with their beadles, carried, in a suitable dish, a ball of snow and presented it to the Gonfaloniere, to the Anziani, to the Bishop, to the Rector of the Spanish College, to the Legate, and to the Vice-Legate. From each of these dignitaries they received gifts, which were spent in festivities in the evening. This custom was suppressed in 1409, or, according to some authorities, not till 1477, and only once revived when there was a heavy fall of snow in 1592. The money collected on that occasion was devoted to placing inscriptions and other honourable memorials in the halls of the University,—a much wiser employment of it than on feasting and bonfires.

The final examination conferring the "laurea dottorale" was accompanied by great ceremonies.

The candidate must be at least twenty years of age, and must have completed eight years of study for the degree in civil law, six years for the degree in canon law, and five years for the degree in medicine. He must be presented to the Archdeacon (or to his Vicar) by a doctor of the College, or by his own master, if he were a student in Arts ; and he chose two doctors as sponsors, who were called "promotori," and who testified to his ability and capacity, after having examined him privately. For the public examination the candidate proceeded with great pomp to the Cathedral of S. Pietro, preceded by the beadles, the Archdeacon, and the doctors, and accompanied by his relations and by not more than ten students. Sometimes the procession went on foot, sometimes the aspirant for Honours rode in state on a horse. In the Cathedral the candidate gave a discourse on a set thesis, and he had to meet any objections raised by doctors or students. Having successfully passed this test, there followed an oration from the Archdeacon (or his deputy), after which the insignia of the "laurea" were presented to the new doctor,—that is, the book, the ring, and the beretta, and he was then escorted to his "chair."

In early times the "lauree" of the richest students were celebrated with great banquets, balls, and other manifestations of rejoicing. The new doctor presented gifts of sweets and wine to the Archdeacon and to his Vicar ; a ring, a beretta, and a pair of gloves to the Prior ; and to the "pro-

motori " a cloak and a hood. For these gifts the statute of 1395 substituted a length of cloth—about six yards. There were other expenses, such as various fees to pay to the Archdeacon, to the Vicar, to the notaries, and to the beadles : the cost of furniture and benches, of the bell, and also of the pipers and trumpeters who accompanied the new doctor to his home. The return from the examination was an imposing spectacle. The new doctor was accompanied by a long train of students of all Nations, and by all the doctors of the College, and they marched to the sound of trumpets and pipes. If he were a Rector, the ceremonial was yet more splendid, and the magistrates of the city took part in it, followed by crowds of people.

There were also great festivities to celebrate the election of the Rectors—cavalcades, tournaments, banquets, and balls—and the whole city took part in the rejoicings as in a public festival. It was the cost of these banquets and shows, the expense of liveried servants, and the expenses of hospitality throughout the year that made the office of Rector such a heavy responsibility. The Rector was expected to maintain the dignity of his office by ready generosity to all. University statutes specify the dress of the Rectors. The statutes of 1432 prescribe the " beretta," or cap, and the hood lined with ermine. In summer the hood might, if preferred, be lined with cloth. They wore a cloak or " tabarro " of black cloth, closed at the sides and pointed and buttoned in front. In other

respects they were dressed like the other students —in black cloth. For processions and festive occasions their waistcoats were of divers colours. There seems to have been some liking for fine clothes. It is said that Spinola wore a velvet hood richly embroidered in gold and silver.

The earliest collection of statutes known to have been made was compiled in 1252. These statutes received the Papal sanction the following year.

The town was proud of its University, and very anxious not to lose the credit and the advantages of its presence. But, as in other University cities, there were from time to time differences of opinion between the town authorities and the University authorities. The last serious collision between the town and the University occurred in 1321. The town magistrates had condemned a student—Giacomo da Valenza—to death, and the sentence was executed. The University departed from Bologna in great wrath. After a short stay at Imola, students and lecturers established themselves at the University of Siena. The town authorities, alarmed at the prospect of losing their University, made great efforts to induce them to return. They obtained from the Pope the concession of various privileges to the University, and sent Giacomo Bottrigari as their ambassador to treat with the students. Eventually peace was arranged between the town and the offended University and Rectors, students and Professors returned. Among the conditions of peace it was required that the Praetor

should present himself at S. Domenico and there solemnly acknowledge that he had exceeded in the rigour of the punishment inflicted. Also the town authorities agreed to build a church for the convenience of the students, to commemorate this compact and the alliance between the University and the Government of the city. The church was in the via S. Mamolo and was called Santa Maria della Pace, and in a rubric it is referred to as "capella nostrae Universitatis." The building had been begun in March, though it was not till May 9th, 1322, that the conditions of agreement were finally approved. The church was restored in 1402, but now it no longer remains. In the seventeenth century it passed to the Carmelites, and in 1813, having become the property of the Demanio, it was destroyed. A monument had been placed in it as a memorial of the reconciliation. This monument is now in the Museo Civico. In addition to its interest as a memorial of an episode in history, it has value as an authentic contemporary representation of the dress of the Rectors in the fourteenth century. The two Rectors are kneeling on either side of the Virgin and Child, supported by four other members of the University, also robed in gowns and hoods. Above are their names.

The question of house-room for a vast concourse of students is always a matter needing consideration. Even after the foundation of the residential colleges there were many students, besides those

whose natural homes were in Bologna, needing shelter for rest and quiet study. There were many town statutes and University regulations dealing with the subject.

Certain houses in the town were set apart for the use of students. The students elected annually University officers, called "taxatores hospitiorum," whose duty it was to regulate prices and to watch over the interests of students in regard to their lodgings. Prices could not be raised without real improvements to justify the increase. And houses which were let to students could not be alienated from them, and statutes forbade the letting of these houses to other persons in order to obtain a higher rent. Some wealthy students made contracts for houses at high rents. The contracts made by the poorer students were for board as well as for the rooms, and often included the use of books. The price of books before the days of the printing press was so high that only the richest students could afford to possess them. Books not hired with the rooms were sometimes hired from the lecturers, or from the "stazionarii." Books, too, were very bulky and heavy, and a contract for board and residence, dated 1286, includes a stipulation for a servant to carry the books to and from the Schools. And all this for the modest sum of 50 "lire di bolognini piccoli" (about 250 lire) per annum from each of the two students who made the contract with the Rector of the church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo. Of the fourteen residential Colleges

erected at different dates, of which the first was "l'Avignonese" in 1257, only two now remain,—the Spanish College and the Flemish College. The "Collegio di Spagna" has passed through many vicissitudes: it was suppressed by Napoleon in 1812, and its property was diverted to the Monte Napoleone. King Ferdinand IV obtained a decree from the Pope in 1814 which secured its reconstitution.

The scholastic year for the Jurists opened on October 10th; for the students of Arts and Medicine on October 18th; and the Studium closed at the end of August. Lectures began at 9 A.M., when the bell of S. Petronio, called "la scolara," sounded the summons to work. The morning lectures were over at twelve; and there were lectures again from 3 to 6 P.M. The number of students has varied greatly at different times. Odofredus states that there were 10,000 students in the Studium of Bologna at the close of the twelfth century. And in the time of Roger Bacon the number has been placed as high as 20,000. Modern criticism is inclined to make some deduction from these highest figures. But all authorities admit that there is good evidence that the number of the students was very great through all the Middle Ages, when the University was at the height of its fame. The seventeenth century was a time of decadence and inactivity for the Universities of Italy. In 1681 the number of students at Bologna was under 200, and in 1747 only 147. On through

the eighteenth century the numbers varied between 150 and 200, and it is only within the last fifty years that prosperity has been returning.

The great University itself had no fixed central abode till the sixteenth century. Through the earlier ages of its existence the Professors lectured in their own houses and in hired rooms. When the classes were too large to be taught in any private room the Professors lectured in the Palazzo Pubblico, or, it is said, even in the public "piazzas." It is recorded that Albericus and Azzo lectured in the Palazzo Pubblico, and there is a tradition that Irnerius lectured from the open pulpit which adorns the angle of the outer wall of the church of the Crocifisso in the S. Stefano group, and looks on to the fine Piazza of S. Stefano. It is probable that public disputations were held in this piazza, which may have given rise to the tradition. The lectures were delivered in the proper "schools," which were scattered over the town. We find proof of the existence of these "schools" in many documents. A sharp division in the localities for the law schools, and for those for the "medici" and the "artisti" was maintained from the time when, —towards the close of the thirteenth century— the "artisti" made the determined struggle to secure for themselves recognition as a separate University with their own Rector. From that time onwards the schools of the "legisti" were exclusively in the quarter of Porta Procula, chiefly in the via S. Mamolo; the schools of the "medici"

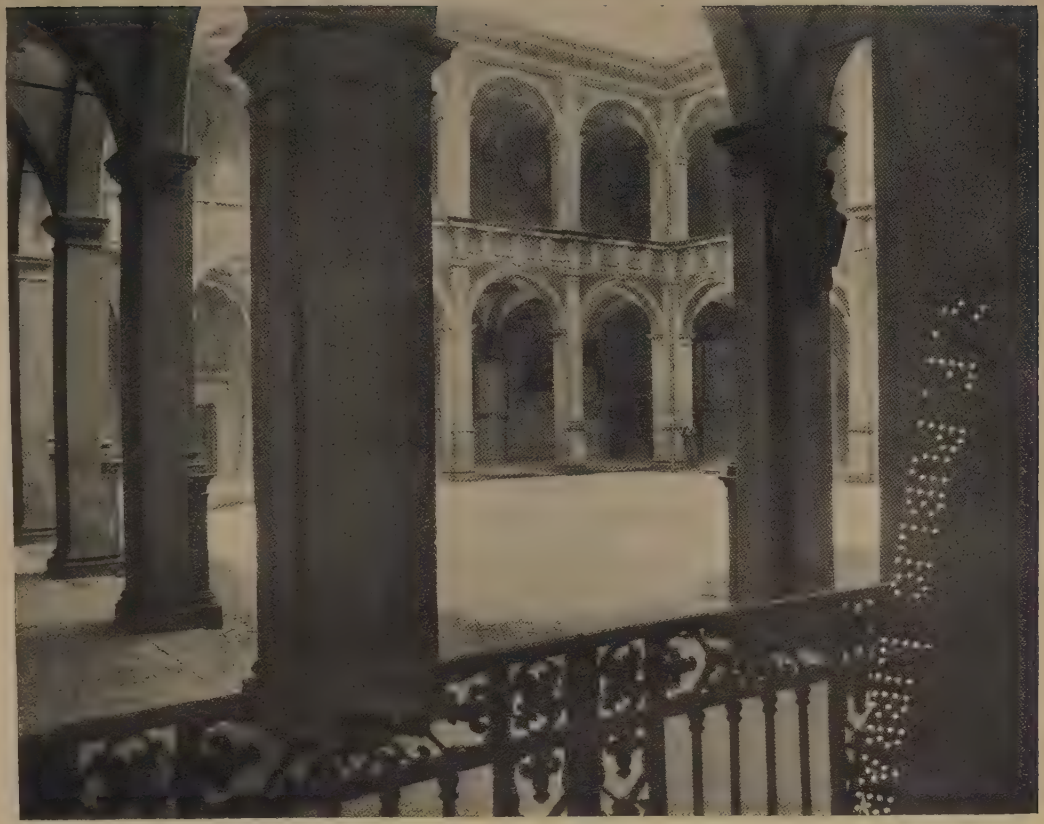
and the "artisti" remained in the quarter of Porta Nova. The earliest schools of Canon Law were held in the convents, pre-eminently in those of S. Stefano, S. Felice and S. Procolo. It was in Bologna that the science of Canon Law had its first beginnings. Gratian, the compiler of the Decretals, was living in Bologna in 1140, and it was in the monastery of S. Felice, in which he dwelt as a monk for many years, that he composed his great work. And the school in this convent continued to flourish after his time. But although Bologna had distinguished schools of theology from a very early date, and with the establishment of the Dominicans and Franciscans, new schools in their monasteries, it was not till 1364 that the University had a Theological Faculty. In that year the Bull which had been decreed by Innocent VI before his death was executed by the new Pope —Urban V.

The Colleges of the Doctors held their meetings in the Duomo—S. Pietro. And it was in the Duomo that the examinations both in Law and Arts were held for the Licence, and for the "Laurea." Sometimes the documents indicate that the collegiate meetings of the Doctors were held in the Old or the New sacristy of the Cathedral, and an act of 1378 of the College of Medicine and Arts mentions the "confessione Sancti Petri" as the place of meeting. This practice continued till 1587, when Cardinal Paleotti, then Archbishop of Bologna, conceded to the "Sindaci della gabella

grossa" space within the archiepiscopal precincts for the building of more commodious rooms for the meetings of the Colleges of Doctors, with a loggia and a chapel for the ceremony of conferring the "Laurea." The examinations in surgery were held in the church of S. Salvatore, or in the adjoining convent. This is distinctly stated in the statutes of 1395 and 1410. There were exceptions for certain special reasons to the usual practice of holding examinations and conferring degrees in the Duomo. When Cardinals, Legates or Vice-Legates were examined for promotion in Canon Law, the statutes provided that the College should meet in the Palazzo Pubblico to confer the "Laurea." Also, in 1710, the Prior of the College of Civil Law being then one of the Anziani, the College met in the Palazzo Pubblico to confer some degrees.

The earliest place of meeting for the Students was the church of S. Procolo. It was here they met to choose their Rectors and other officers, to nominate their lecturers, and to discuss their Statutes and the affairs of the University and the Studio. When the University of Medicine and Arts separated from the University of Law, the "legisti" chose S. Domenico as their place of meeting, and the "artisti" chose S. Francesco.

In 1560 Carlo Borromeo was sent as Papal Legate to Bologna by his uncle, Pius IV. To him, in conjunction with his Vice-Legate—Pietro Donato Cesi—Bishop of Narni, occurred the idea of raising a



CORTILE OF THE ARCHIGINNASIO

STAIRCASE OF THE ARCHIGINNASIO

suitable building for the needs of the great teaching University. There was considerable opposition to the proposal in Bologna, both from the Senate and from the University Professors. The heavy expense was urged as an objection, and also the fact that the site chosen would render impossible the completion of the original plan for the great church of S. Petronio. But Cesi was resolute, and with the support of Carlo Borromeo and the Pope he carried his point. A Papal Bull gave authority for the building in 1561. The work was begun from the designs of A. Terribilia at the end of February or beginning of March, 1562, and completed in October of the following year. This was quick work, and it was sententiously remarked in the Latin oration at the opening ceremony in November, 1563,—"dixit et factum est." In this noble building—the Archiginnasio—the work of the University was carried on till 1803.

The money for building the new Schools had been mostly drawn from the Gabella Grossa, and in 1565 Monsignor Cesi formally made over the buildings to the care and control of the Sindaci della Gabella. This included imposing on them the responsibility of maintenance. The upper floor of the building comprised 10 spacious rooms for use as "Schools." Seven were for the "legisti," and three for the "artisti" and "medici." These were along the front of the building, and there were four other rooms round the "loggiato" for the use of the "artisti" and "medici," besides

the anatomical theatre. At either end of the front was a great hall, one for the " legisti " and one for the " artisti." These were reserved for the lectures of specially eminent doctors, for disputations, and for inaugural orations.

Torquato Tasso was among the students who first studied in the new Archiginnasio. At the time when it was built, the educational credit of the University was at a low ebb. The Bolognese ambassador at the Court of Rome, referring to the heavy expense of the building, pathetically suggests the possibility of there being " belle scole ma senza dottori et scolari." But the energy of the Vice-Legate Cesi was directed also to the improvement of the teaching staff. In conjunction with the Senate he sought to attract distinguished teachers in the various Faculties. Generous stipends were offered and distinguished honours and privileges. And Ugo Buoncompagni, when he became Pope as Gregory XIII, did his best to promote the interests of the University in which he had been educated, and in which he had been for a time a distinguished law Professor. The numbers of the students again increased, attracted by the eminent lecturers. The University was specially distinguished in science during the last half of the sixteenth century, counting among its Professors in Mathematics and Astronomy, Ignazio Danti (of Perugia), and Gian Antonio Magini ; also the great Naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, who was born and educated at Bologna.

The University of Bologna was also distinguished for its schools of Medicine and Surgery towards the close of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth. It boasts the great names of Marcello Malpighi, Carlo Fracassati and Antonio Maria Valsalva among its professors. Valsalva was the inventor of many surgical instruments and introduced great improvements in method in cases of amputation.

The first permanent anatomical theatre was made in the University buildings in 1595, in the room to the left of the one chosen for the construction of the larger theatre in the seventeenth century. The celebrated anatomist, Giulio Cesare Aranzio, had already lectured in this room for several years. The need for a more spacious one was soon felt, and in 1637 the adjoining space was set apart for it. The work was entrusted to Antonio Levanti, who undertook to complete it in a few months for the sum of 3,500 lire. The walls above the rows of seats were covered with fir-wood finely sculptured. They were adorned with 12 statues of celebrated physicians and anatomists of antiquity, also sculptured in wood; and the busts of many doctors of the University, who, as a contemporary print expresses it, had "disputato filosoficamente di materie anatomiche," or who, as other writers phrased it, had exercised anatomy "mediata o immediatamente." It must be under this comprehensive classification that Irnerius finds a place here. In 1645 the theatre was completed by the

addition of the handsome ceiling of cedar wood. The wonderful anatomical figures showing the muscles were carved by Ercole Lelli and added in 1732. The anatomy lectures at this time were a great public function. The "funzione" lasted 10 days, with lectures both morning and afternoon. The authorities were present at the first and the last of these lectures. The time fixed was just after the Festa of S. Antonio, in the Carnival vacation. The Cardinal Legate, the Gonfaloniere, the Anziani, and ordinary citizens, among them many ladies, were accustomed to be present at this anatomy function.

Another public function which in course of time came to take place in the Schools of the Archiginnasio was the manufacture of "teriaca." This "teriaca" was the forerunner of modern patent medicines. It was supposed to cure everything, and was considered specially efficacious for wounds. In the early days it was made by the druggists in their own shops. But from 1550 onwards, for greater security, it was made by the druggists meeting together in the garden of the monastery of S. Salvatore, and in the presence of the doctors. It was composed of a very great many substances mixed together, and the time of its composition was the spring. In 1574 the famous naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi and the doctor and philosopher Antonio Maria Alberghini assisted at the ceremony of its making. After this the preparation of the "teriaca" took place in the cortile of the Archigin-

ARCHIGINNASIO. UPPER LOGGIATO OF CORTILE ...

nasio. Thus in the spring of every year the cortile was hung with rich red damasks for the ceremony. In the centre were two great pyramids also covered with damask and surmounted with the busts of Hippocrates and Galen. On these pyramids were the great maiolica vases destined to contain the precious drug. On other tables were filters, lembics and a thousand other requisites for the manufacture of the "teriaca." Great cauldrons were boiling in the midst of the cortile. Around were the doctors of the College of Medicine to examine the ingredients, and the druggists to mix the medicament. All were in their state costumes, which in the eighteenth century included powdered wigs. The servants in attendance were in liveries of green with gold lace. The "loggiato" above was crowded with ladies and cavaliers, doctors, students and citizens. The great maiolica vases used on these occasions may still be seen in the Museo Civico.

The foundation of the Instituto delle Scienze in 1712 contributed greatly to the diffusion of interest in science and literature in Bologna. It originated in the generous offer of Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili to make over to the Senate all his valuable scientific apparatus if they would provide a suitable habitation for it with library, observatory and laboratories. The Senate acquired for this purpose the Palazzo Poggi, in the Via Zamboni, and Marsili's rich collections were arranged in it. Clement XI gave his support to the Institution and con-

tributed to its funds in all some 25,000 scudi. The Accademia degli Inquieti, one of the smaller scientific societies, was merged in it, and beside it flourished the "Accademia per le belle arti," which in gratitude to Pope Clement took the name of Clementina.

The French entered Bologna in June, 1796, and the Repubblica Cispadana having been formed with Bologna as its head, the University corporations were abolished on December 7th, 1797. It is a marvel how, in this revolutionary time, all the coats of arms with which the Archiginnasio is so beautifully decorated, can have escaped destruction. On November 5th a decree was published that the Senate had renounced for its members every distinction of honour. All titles were abolished and it was enjoined that all coats of arms should be taken away. A second decree of the Comitato Centrale della Repubblica Cispadana ordered the cancelling of all coats of arms, imposing penalties in case of neglect, within a limited time. Fanatical troops of citizens, led by Giuseppe Giovanetti and the brothers Ceschi, carried out the decree with remorseless vigour. On June 5th the coats of arms on public buildings and private houses were destroyed, and next day those in churches and chapels. The mischief being done, the Committee itself was moved by a suspicion of the artistic vandalism it had authorized. Observing that the "esecuzione era stata meno misurata che non convenisse," it opened a way for the saving of any armorial relics

that might have chanced to escape the crusade. Anyone possessing a coat of arms that he considered worthy of preservation might apply to the President of the Accademia Clementina for his judgment as to its artistic value. Thus the Accademia di Belle Arti was able to save the splendid series of over 5,000 coats of arms with which the walls and vaulting of the Archiginnasio are decorated. There is a tradition that we owe their preservation in the first fury of destruction to a citizen named Pietro Bacchelli. He pointed out to the destroyers that these coats of arms in the Schools were, in fact, the trophies of the ancient greatness of the Studio, and urged the populace to preserve them. He dexterously suggested that if they must get rid of them they had better cover them up with stucco, as it would take too long to obliterate so many. A deputation from the Accademia di Belle Arti visited the Archiginnasio to inspect, and the order to erase where possible "senza pregiudicare i dipinti, i segni indicanti l'antico dominio, cioè triregni, chiavi e cappelli cardinalizio" has resulted in the preservation even of these. But it was indeed a narrow escape.

With the restoration of the Republican Government in 1802, it was decided that there should be two State Universities, one at Bologna, the other at Pavia, and scientific institutes in these cities were to be incorporated with the Universities. More space was required at Bologna, and it was decided to unite the University with the Instituto

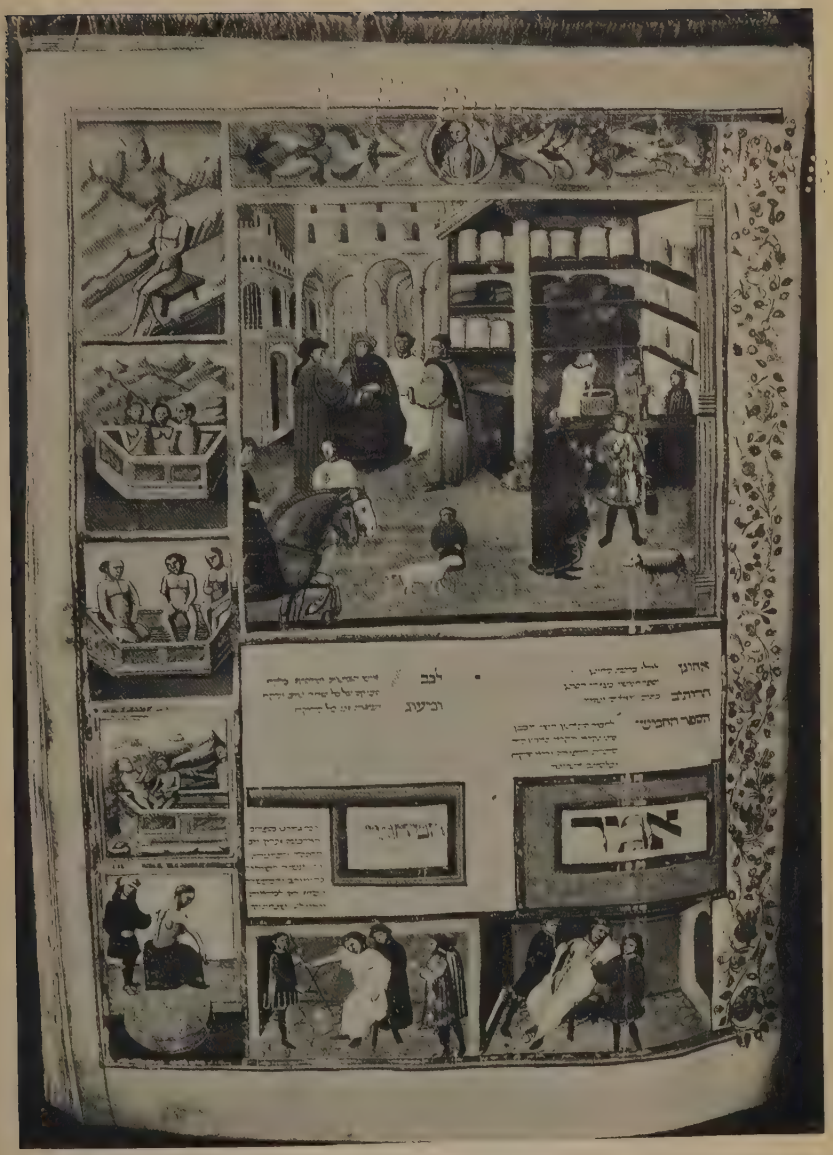
delle Scienze in the Palazzo Poggi, removing the Accademia di Belle Arti to the adapted buildings of the old convent of S. Ignazio, thus acquiring the space it had occupied in the Palazzo Poggi for the use of the University. The transfer of the University to its new seat was accomplished with great ceremony on November 25th, 1803. At first the Archiginnasio was occasionally used for a few functions. Finally, after considerable risk of ruin or complete destruction, thanks to the good offices of Count Marescalchi at the Court of Paris, the historic building was made over to the Commune in November, 1808. In the following year the town authorities placed " Scuole Pie " in it. But in 1834 a movement was originated to devote the building to more worthy uses. The infants were provided with another habitation, and in 1837 the Biblioteca Comunale was established in the historic halls of the Archiginnasio.

In 1888 was celebrated the eight hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University. Representatives were invited from Universities in all parts of the world. All the chief Universities of Europe sent distinguished members to take part in the celebrations, as also did several Universities in America, Australia and New Zealand : in all there were over 300 representatives. The students also invited students from the Universities of the world, and the invitation met with a cordial response. The student processions were a feature of the festivities. The King had graciously pro-

mised his patronage to the Centenario, and the King, Queen and Crown Prince came to preside at the ceremonies. The day fixed for the anniversary celebrations was June 12th. They began at an early hour with a great procession. The doctors and dignitaries of the many Universities made a distinctively characteristic show in their various robes. The great cortile of the Archiginnasio was covered and draped for the crowning ceremonies; and it was decked with the flags of all nations. The ceremonies, which included some 26 discourses, lasted from 10.30 A.M. to nearly 2 P.M. Professor Capellini as Rector gave the opening address, and was followed by Signor Boselli, the Minister of Public Instruction. Then Giosue Carducci ascended the crimson velvet-covered "cattedra," and gave a splendid oration, into which he condensed the history of the great University. A commemorative gold medal was presented to the king. The representatives of the foreign Universities and scientific Academies presented their gifts to the University they were assembled to honour. Professor Gandini in a graceful speech expressed the thanks of the University of Bologna to the distinguished guests. On the following day many honorary degrees were conferred, and thus the names of many men among the visitors distinguished in Arts and Science were added to the rolls of the members of the University.

From small numbers early in the nineteenth century, the University has been steadily growing.

Up to about the middle of the century the number of students had only reached 355. At the time of the Centenario celebrations the numbers had risen to 1500, and now for the year 1907–1908 the numbers are registered as 2,310, taking all the Faculties together. And that is a substantial increase on the numbers of the previous year, thus being a satisfactory sign of flourishing growth. The numbers for the fresh year have not yet been published. The University includes the Faculties of Philosophy and Letters, of Jurisprudence, of Science, and of Medicine and Surgery: and there is an Agrarian School. There are in all 67 "Professori ordinari" and 12 "Professori straordinari." The funds for the University are now provided by the State.



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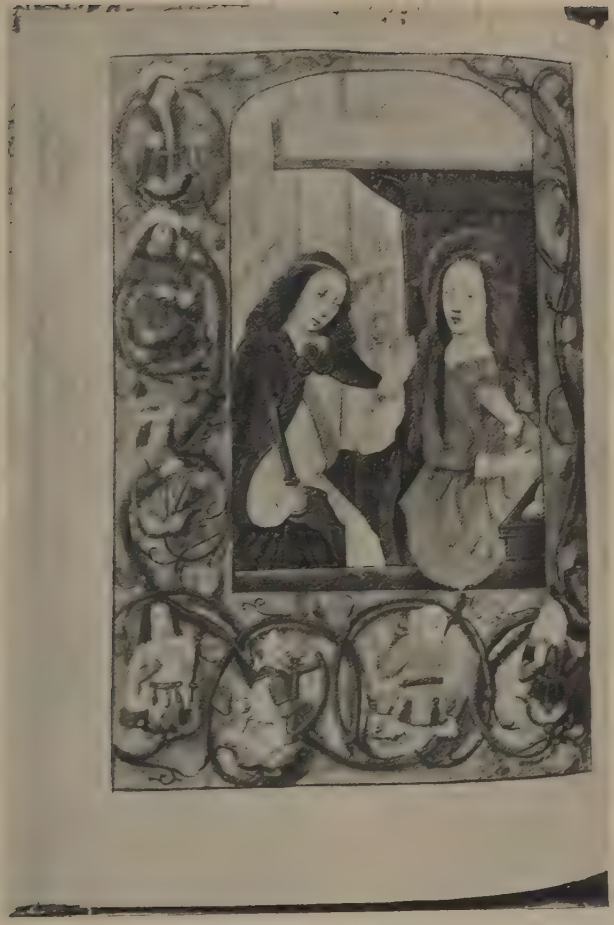


THE ANNUNCIATION

A miniature in an "Office of the Virgin" in the University Library

CHAPTER XI

DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY

O padri antichi, a' vostri petti degno
Culto eran patria e libertà; verace
Vita agitava l'anima capace
E il forte ingegno. GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI.

THERE are great and familiar names among the Alumni of the University as well as among its Doctors. Dante was a student there in 1287, and Petrarch began work at the Studio in 1322. He was sent to continue his legal studies, but the study of the classics proved so much more attractive to him that his father found it necessary to journey to Bologna to try to rescue him from the temptation, and to burn the seductive books. He was studying law under Giovanni d'Andrea Calderini, so possibly was one of the students to whom the fair Novella lectured.

Boccaccio, Cino da Pistoja, Pico della Mirandola, Copernicus, Erasmus, Luther, Ariosto and Tasso all studied in this Alma Mater Studiorum.

Some little account of the early Jurists whose genius and industry made the fame of the University of Bologna in the Middle Ages may rightly

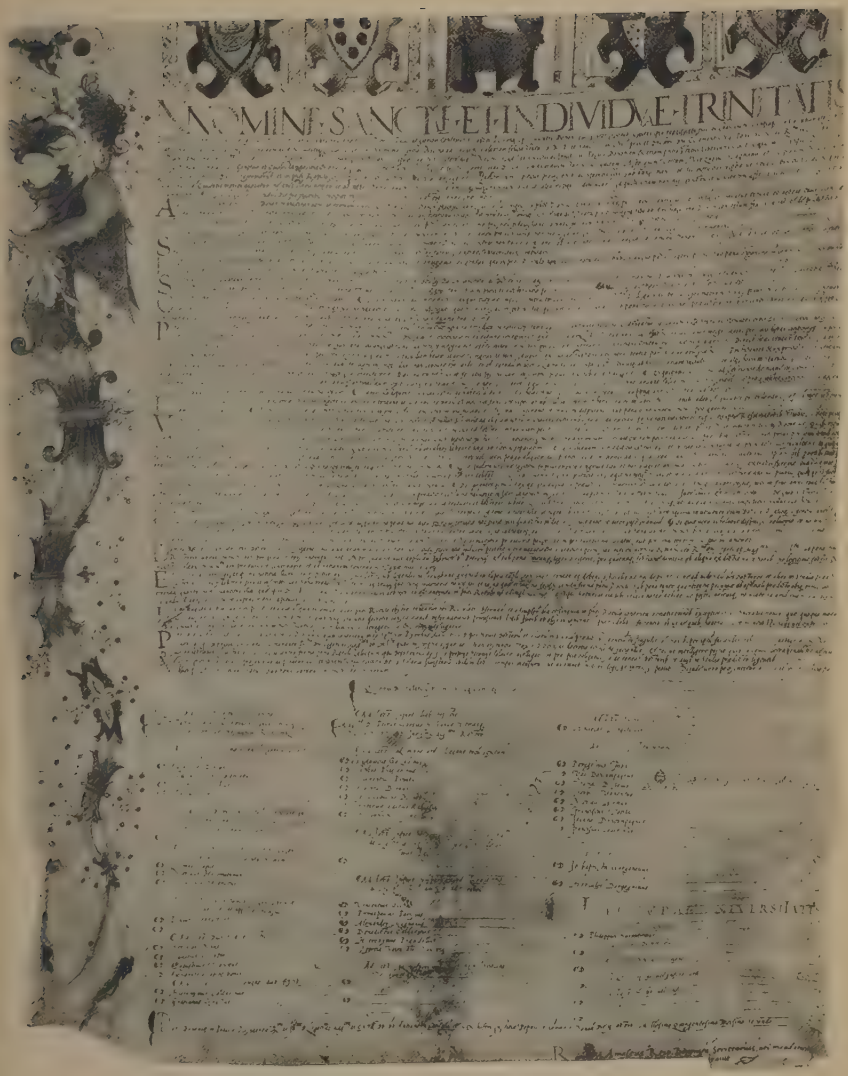
find a place in a sketch of the University History. Irnerius, or Wernerius, was born at Bologna about 1050. He was probably a Master of the Liberal Arts at Bologna before his interest in the Law texts led him to devote himself to the study and teaching of law, by which his name and his School became so famous. Odofredus says that he first held a school of Logic in Bologna. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany liked to have him near her as her adviser, and after 1113 he was constantly at her court. But before that date he had frequently signed himself as "causidico," and his name occurs in two documents in 1100, under the Emperor Henry IV, as entrusted with important legal duties. The chronicler, Conrad, abbot of Ursperg, asserts that it was at the request of Matilda that Irnerius undertook the study of the neglected parts of the Digest of Justinian. He enriched the Law texts with his notes or "glosses." Odofredus says of him: "fuit primus illuminator scientie nostre; et quod primus fuit qui fecit glossas in libris nostris, vocamus eum lucernam juris." He was among the best "Giurisconsulti" taken to Rome by the Emperor Henry V. It is not known in what year he died; but there is no mention of him in documents after 1125. The glosses of Irnerius were praised for elegance, brevity, correctness, and erudition. Bulgaro learnt from Irnerius, and he with Martino, Ugo and Jacopo continued the School.

After Irnerius and the "Four Doctors," Azzo and Accursius[1] are among the most important of

the early Jurists whose names have come down to us, and Accursius was a specially lucid and able Glossator. He was born at Bagnolo, near Florence, about the middle of the twelfth century; but he studied at Bologna and taught there for 34 years. A little later than these comes the much quoted Odofredus. Eight ponderous volumes of his works remain to us, and from these pages may be gathered some particulars of the character of the man, some incidents of his life, and much interesting information about the dress of the students and the customs of the great University in the thirteenth century. Odofredus, the son of Bonaccorso Riccardo Denari, a citizen of position and considerable wealth, was born at Bologna at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. He was not yet a Doctor in 1228, but there is evidence that his father was acquiring law books for him in 1226, and he probably obtained his degree in 1229. His master was Jacopo Balduini, who was elected Podestà of Genoa in 1229. Odofredus travelled much in France and Italy, and there is reason to think also in Germany. In 1238 he was at Bologna and member of a special council with Accursius and other legal authorities, and he continued to be employed in various legal capacities. In 1250 he was one of the Anziani, and in 1253 he was at Ravenna with Alberico de Scannabicis representing his city in the negotiations for the peace between Bologna and Ravenna. His name is found for the last time in a public document in 1257, and as

filling a distinguished position as chief arbitrator to decide the controversies between Bologna and Ravenna in case the other arbitrators failed to agree. His name occurs as late as 1265, in a document preserved in the Archivio di Stato, as arbitrator in a private case. We thus have proof of his legal activity to the close of his life: he died on December 3rd, 1265. He was not a great Jurist, but a patient collector of opinions, and an acute observer of contemporary facts. In the Bologna of to-day one is reminded of the fame of Accursius and Odofredus by the beautiful tombs erected to their memory in the enclosure around the eastern apse of the church of S. Francesco.

Among other distinguished Jurists belonging to the University of Bologna are: in the thirteenth century, Pier dalle Vigne, secretary of Frederick II. Allessandro and Giovanni d'Andrea; in the fourteenth century the Saliceti were a distinguished legal family. Riccardo, having taken his doctor's degree, became Professor in 1336. In 1370 he was sent as ambassador to the Pope at Avignon. Bartolomeo was nephew and pupil of Riccardo; he had a son named Giacomo, who was "laureato nelle leggi" on October 11th, 1380. Other great legal names in the fourteenth century are: Ancarano, and Angelo and Bartolo Sassoferrato. In the fifteenth century, Andrea Barbazzi and Tartagni. In the sixteenth century, Alciato, Socino, Agostino Bero, and Ugo Boncompagni,[1] whose pupils were Riminaldo, Reginald Pole, and Carlo Borromeo.



ROTULO OF THE "LEGISTI" OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA FOR THE YEAR 1532

See chap. xi., note (2)

Boncompagni afterwards became Pope with the title of Gregory XIII.

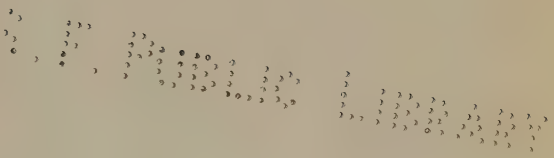
The University of Bologna has always been honourably distinguished in that it has accorded perfectly equal terms to women students with the men. And from the Middle Ages on to modern times there have been women Professors who have filled its chairs with very great distinction. The earliest was Bitisia Gozzadini, born 1209, who earned the "laurea" in both Civil and Canon Law.

The lives of the learned ladies of Bologna are delightful reading, for they have combined domestic virtues with erudition: they have been good daughters, good wives, and good mothers, and while gaining high honours in science, art, and letters, they have excelled also in those duties and capacities which are commonly regarded as more particularly appropriate to women. Among the earliest of these eminent ladies were Novella and Bettina Calderini, the daughters of the distinguished legal Doctor Giovanni d'Andrea Calderini, whose wife is also described as "Dottoressa di dirittó." They lived in the earlier half of the fourteenth century. They were famed for their legal knowledge when quite young. Giovanni d'Andrea Calderini was frequently absent on important business as ambassador, and it is an historical fact that on these occasions one of his daughters took his place and discharged his duties with great efficiency. Of Novella it is recorded that she was

so beautiful that she was wont to cover her face with a thick veil when she ascended the Professorial chair, lest her beauty should distract the attention of her pupils. Novella married Giovanni Oldrendi da Legnano, an eminent Doctor of Bologna; she filled her husband's chair also when he was away on important affairs of State. Urban V offered to make Legnano a Cardinal and Novella a nun; but the honour was refused, as they preferred to continue their happy life together. Novella died in 1366. The Legnani family are descended from Giovanni and Novella. Bettina married Giovanni Sangiorgi, a learned Doctor of Decretals, whose chair was at Padua.

Space will not permit the mention of more than three of the distinguished ladies who were born in the eighteenth century.

Laura Maria Caterina Bassi was born in October, 1711. Her parents and friends early noted her great gifts. While still quite young she understood and appreciated the Latin writers. She studied Philosophy, in which she took great delight all her life; and she knew as much of Metaphysics as is needed for culture. But it was to the study of the laws of the Universe, to the observation of natural phenomena, and to all that appertains to general and experimental Physics that she turned with indefatigable diligence. Her parents and instructors were delighted at her wonderful progress, and wished that her gifts should have public recognition. But Laura loved



LAURA BASSI DELIVERING HER THESIS FOR THE LAUREA

Lauream Doctoralem suscipit
coram Emo Legato
Illmo et Rmo Principe
Archiepiscopo, et Pollensi
Illustrissimi Excelsi Senatus Bononiensis Comitibus et Iureum Signiferis
in Aula Magna Erudite
Laurea Ill. Catharina

LAURA BASSI CROWNED WITH THE LAUREA DOCTORALE

a quiet and secluded life, and preferred to pursue her studies "to find in them the incitement and the guide to well-doing." But at last she was induced to give public evidence of her learning. On April 17th, 1732, she replied to five learned Professors of the University of Bologna, who interrogated her on the most weighty questions of Philosophy. The principal personages of the city came together to hear her, "who in hearing the eloquence of Laura, and seeing her modest demeanour, no doubtful proof of the moderation of her mind, did not know which to value the most, the modesty of her quiet manner, or the profundity of her intellect." With the consent of all she was invited to receive "la laurea" in Philosophy. This was conferred on May 12th, 1732. Accompanied by the Contessa Maria Bergonzi Ranuzzi and the Marchesa Elisabetta Hercolani Ratta, ladies distinguished in the city for nobility and genius, she came into the presence of the Doctors of the College of Philosophy, who were awaiting her in a room of the Palazzo de' Magistrati. Here she was invested with the insignia of the degree. The citizens shared in the rejoicings in her honour. The Senate conferred on her a chair of Philosophy in the University, she being then only six months over 20 years of age. In judgment, acumen, and the lucidity and grace of her teaching she equalled the fame of the most distinguished Professors. People came from distant countries to hear her. She lectured also in the Accademia Benedettina,

who was born in Bologna in 1758. Her father came from Parma, but her mother was Bolognese. The Greek scholar Emanuele Aponte lodged in the house of the Tambroni. The young Clotilde listened, whilst at her work, to the lessons that he gave to a pupil, and one day the Professor discovered that she was prompting the dull boy with excellent answers to his questions. Surprised at the intelligence she showed in reply to further queries, Aponte persuaded her mother to allow him to teach her Greek. She quickly attained to great proficiency. She studied also Latin and Italian literature. She was a member of various distinguished academies, one being the Accademia Clementina of Bologna, to which she was elected in 1792. She corresponded with distinguished men in various countries. In 1794 Clotilde was elected by the Senate to succeed Aponte in the chair of elementary Greek at the University, he having been promoted to the higher chair. Both these appointments were lost owing to political vicissitudes in 1797. Clotilde was for a time at Parma, and she then followed her old instructor into Spain, where she ministered to him with great devotion in his weakness and infirmity. After a time she brought him back to Italy.

Clotilde again occupied the chair of Greek literature in the University of Bologna. She gave her lessons with marvellous lucidity, stimulating the minds of her pupils by requiring them to think and reason. In April, 1811, Leghorn sent a diploma

A DOOR OF THE CHURCH OF SS. VITALE AND AGRICOLA ;
AND THE MONUMENT OF LIUCCIO DEI LUZZI

electing her an honorary member of the "Accademia Italiana di Scienze ed Arti." The chair of "Eloquenza Greca" was again abolished in 1811, but when restored by Pope Pius VII in 1815, it was again conferred on Clotilde. Among her writings were emendations of Pausanias. Clotilde Tambroni died on June 4th, 1817.

The University was pre-eminent in medicine at a very early date, and was the first in which dissection was practised. Mondino dei Luzzi, the "Father of modern anatomy," obtained his "Laurea" in medicine here in 1290, and was for many years a lecturer in the schools of his alma mater. Mondino placed the monument in memory of his uncle, Liuccio dei Luzzi, which may still be seen under the "portici" of the church of SS. Vitale e Agricola. Of all the monuments of the "Lettori" of the great Studio of Bologna, this is the only one of "cattedra" form that remains in its original place. It is dated 1318, and bears the name also of the artist who sculptured it,—Maestro Roso da Parma. Mondino himself was buried here eight years later.

Bologna, like the other cities of Italy, felt the influence of Humanism. Francesco Filelfo began to lecture there on Greek and Rhetoric in 1428. He was again in Bologna in 1439, and we find his name on the rolls of the University in 1471 as Professor of Rhetoric and Poetry.

And Bologna had its distinguished Humanists of native birth. Filippo Beroaldo was born at Bologna in 1453: he taught in Bologna, Parma and Milan.

His teaching during a short stay in Paris is said to have inspired the interest in the classics which developed into a classical literature in the following century. In 1477 he was again in Bologna, and Professor of "belles-lettres" at the University, a post which he continued to occupy till his death in 1505. Beroaldo was elected one of the Anziani in 1489, and later he was sent by the Senate as ambassador to Pope Alexander VI, together with Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio. Among the "Orationes multifariae" of this same Filippo Beroaldi is a full account of the festivities in Bologna on the occasion of the marriage of Annibale Bentivoglio, the eldest son of Giovanni II, with Lucrezia d'Este. The bust of Beroaldo, by Vincenzo Onofrio, is over his monument in the church of S. Martino. A nephew, who bore the same name as his uncle, was Librarian at the Vatican for two years; he died in 1518.

Another great Librarian of the Vatican Library was of Bolognese birth. Giuseppe Mezzofanti, when only 23 years of age, obtained the chair of Arabic, by vote of the Senate in 1797: the chair of Oriental languages and the office of Librarian in his own University were added as years went on. Gregory XVI invited him to Rome in 1832, and a few years later he resigned his offices in Bologna. He was made a Cardinal in 1838. Mezzofanti had a marvellous facility in languages; it is said that he was acquainted with 72 in varying degrees, and that of these he spoke 30 with freedom

and purity of accent. It seems that Mezzofanti first discovered his linguistic capacity when ministering at the military hospital of his native city during the Napoleonic wars. Soldiers of all nations were brought there, and he sought to comfort each in his own tongue.

Gifted with a similar capacity for languages is the Bolognese student who is now Professor of Semitic Philology in the University of his native city, Signor Alfredo Trombetti. To facility in the languages Signor Trombetti adds a profoundly scientific study of origin and classification and the evolution of original theories.[3]

In Science Bologna boasts the great names of Ulisse Aldrovandi and of Luigi Galvani. The name of Giovanni Capellini is known in scientific circles all over the world. He was Rector of the University at the time of the eight hundredth anniversary celebrations. The beautifully ordered Geological Museum of the University has been his care for many years, and contains many of his important discoveries.

But the name connected with the University of Bologna in modern times that is most universally known and reverenced is the name of Giosuè Carducci, the great poet of United Italy. He was born at Val di Castello on July 17th, 1835. He had begun to write verses by about the age of ten, at which time he was also exercising his imagination in organizing republics, and fighting their battles in true mediaeval fashion in play with his brothers

and companions. Carducci was educated at Florence and Pisa, taking his "laurea" at the University of the latter. His first published work was the sonnet printed in 1852.

The Minister of Instruction,—Terenzio Mamiani,—soon remarked the genius and promise of the young poet, and in 1860 offered him the "cattedra" of Italian Literature at the University of Bologna. From that time onwards he was closely connected with Bologna, and his long residence and continuous teaching in the University have led the people of Bologna to think of him as peculiarly their own. His great works have been written and published there. He was actively teaching till quite the last years of his life, and when he died, on February 16th, 1907, he was still on the rolls of the University as Emeritus Professor, and was President of the College. Honours and distinctions had been showered upon him. He was decorated with the highest knightly rank in two of the most distinguished orders of his country, and with other orders of Italy and Brazil; and he was a member of the most distinguished academies. In 1895 he was made Senatore del Regno; the Noebel prize was conferred on him in 1906. Besides the poems, many of which breathed the inspiration of the Risorgimento time, Carducci wrote very vigorous prose.

The republican ardour of Carducci's youth was transferred to the monarchy when he realized that only with the help of the King of Piedmont could

COLLEGIO DI SPAGNA. WALL AND DOOR

Italy hope to be free and united : and throughout his later life he maintained a strong personal devotion to Queen Margherita. He addressed poems to the Queen, and the spirited prose of " L'eterno femminino regale " was inspired by his admiration for her, and was written on the occasion of the visit of King Umberto I and Queen Margherita to Bologna in November, 1878.

The Queen accepted his devotion with characteristic graciousness, and the visit of Carducci to the Hotel Brun for an interview with her Majesty was one of the events of her last stay in Bologna.

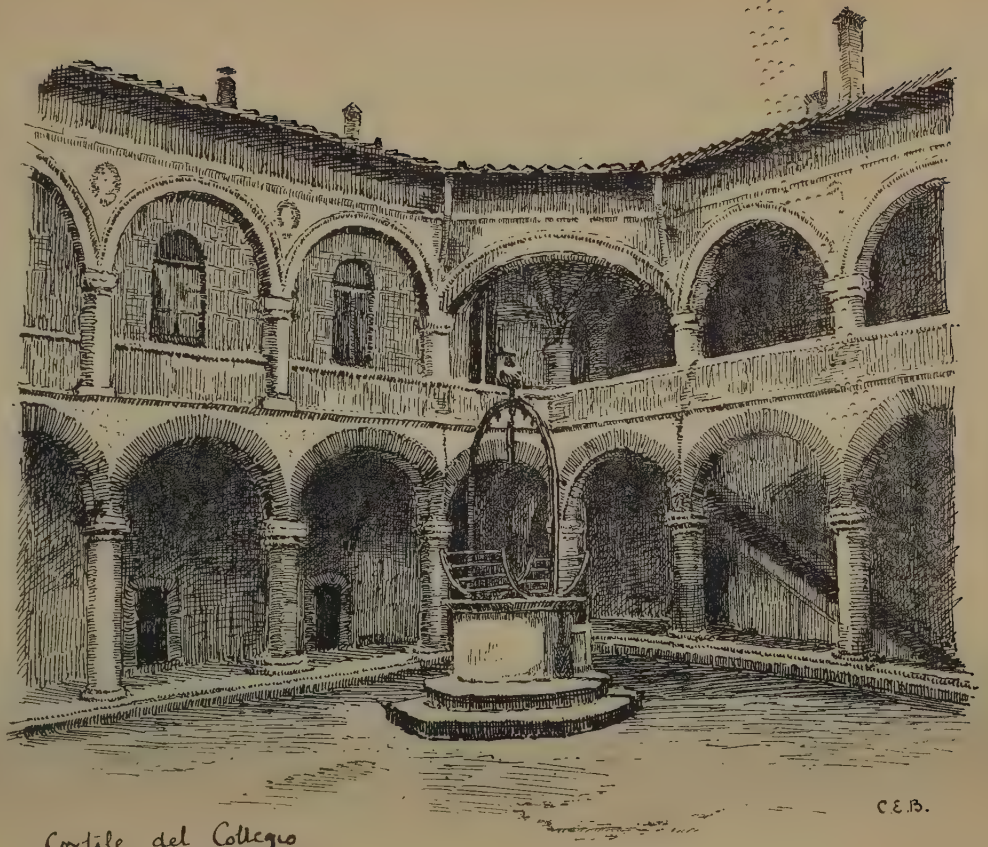
Of the residential colleges that were founded in Bologna from the time of the Avignonese, 1257, the Bresciano, 1326, and others on till the Fiammingo, founded in 1650, only two remain,—the Flemish College and the R. Collegio di Spagna. The Flemish College now has only two students.

The Collegio di Spagna, with its picturesque cortile and its shady garden, has an interesting history. It was founded in 1365 by Egidio Albornoz, the vigorous and warlike Cardinal who recovered and reorganized the States of the Church for the Pope still absent at Avignon. The contracts with the representatives of the Cardinal are dated April, 1365, and the building appears to have been nearly completed when Egidio died in 1367. By his will, dated September 29th, 1364, he left all his money, after payment of his personal obligations and certain legacies, for the building and endowing of this college. His executors were very prompt in giving

effect to his wishes, and the college was soon completely organized. The funds were provided to maintain twenty-four Spanish youths at the College for eight years. There was a Rector, and two Chaplains. The rooms around the cloistered cortile are vaulted and frescoed, and there is a dining hall and a chapel. There are now only eight students, mostly men who have taken a degree at a Spanish University and who are preparing for the diplomatic service.

The library contains a fine series of fifteenth century editions. The most interesting is the work in three large volumes, a "Repertorium" of Civil and Canon Law, by Rev^do^ Pietro, Bishop of Brescia. It is marked at the end of the third volume, "Summa cum diligentia ac vigilia in collegio dominorum Hispaniorum correptum Bononieque mira arte.impressum anno Domini MCCCCLXV die VIII novembris," and is a very rare edition. It has been maintained that the book was printed in the Spanish College, and might be considered good evidence for the assertion that printing from movable types was done in Bologna first among the cities of Italy. The early printers had a trying time, and were forced to take refuge in the Spanish College from the jealousy of the MS. copyists. Such is the story which modern criticism claims to disprove, and which has been the subject of vigorous controversy. Very high authorities state that Azzoguidi was the first who printed books in Bologna. A rare edition of Ovid, his first work in printing, was

DOOR OF THE COLLEGIO DI SPAGNA



Cortile del Collegio di Spagna

Poppi, photo

ANCONA, BY MARCO ZOPPO

In the sacristy of the "chiesa di S. Clemente" of the Spanish College

dated 1471. The Repertorium is said to have been printed by Andrea Portilia, with the assistance of the Bolognese Giacomo Cevenini and two others. The difficulty of the earlier date is met by the critics with the suggestion that one "X" has been omitted, and that the true reading should be 1475, which would give Azzoguidi the precedence by four years.

Among the illuminated books are: A Mystery of the Cross, tenth century, with very quaint drawings; a Bible with very delicate little illuminations; and a Corpus Juris Canonici of the thirteenth century. The Digestum shows very fine work.

The graceful lines of the apse of the chapel have been veiled with barocco stucco, and the colouring of the walls and vaulting concealed by whitewash. In the sacristy is a Madonna and Child by Lippo Dalmasio, and a fine altar picture by Marco Zoppo. The subject is the Virgin and Child, and in compartments on either side, St Clement, St Jerome, St James, and St Andrew, with many smaller figures of saints, and below small subjects. It is signed Opera del Zoppo da Bolognia.

CHAPTER XII

MUSEO CIVICO

Sic fortis Etruria crevit.
"Virg. Georg." ii. 533.

THE Museo Civico was established in the fine Palazzo Galvani in 1881. In it are united the treasures of the old University Museum, founded by Luigi Ferd. Marsili in 1712, with the collections of Ulisse Aldrovandi and Ferdinando Cospi added in 1743—the fine coin collection given by Benedict XIV—the Municipal Museum formed by the valuable collections bequeathed by Palagi, and the wonderful Umbrian and Etruscan antiquities discovered in the excavations at the Certosa and on various sites in and around the city. These splendid collections are beautifully arranged. The classification and orderly array are due to the care of Prof. Edoardo Brizio, who had been for many years the Direttore of the Museum when he died in 1907, and of Dott. Luigi Frati, the authority for the artistic and mediaeval departments, aided by Cav. Leopoldo Lambertino and Sen. Count Giovanni Gozzadini.

Taking the right-hand branch of the staircase we enter Sala I and begin with the Stone Age. In

this room are collected the relics of the primitive Ligurian inhabitants of the land. And in room VIII is a "sceletro rannichiato" showing their manner of burial. They were a pastoral people, with no knowledge of agriculture, and it is to be noted that they were ignorant of the use of metals. Paleolithic and neolithic implements (chiefly arrow heads) have been found as near to Bologna as the Certosa, in the Predio Arnoaldi outside Porta S. Isaia, and outside Porta d'Azeglio. These are shown in the unmarked case opposite the door of entrance. Fragments of pottery and bone were also discovered in the foundations of the "capanne" or huts on the two latter sites. In cases A and B are interesting collections excavated from the Grotta del Farne, about eleven kilometres distant from Bologna. In B the perforated pieces of clay vessels, like pieces of colanders, should be noticed. They were probably used for making cheese.

In C there is coarse pottery from the cemetery of the terramara of Crespellano. The collections in case F, from the terramare of Bazzano, Toscanella, Castellaccio, Trebbo Sei Vie and Castelfranco, are interesting. There is a fine large vase or situla[1] of rough pottery "a cordoni" from Castelfranco at the end of the lower section of the case. Near the centre of the top of the case are two stone moulds for making bronze weapons, and beside them the weapons made in them. There are also several mills for grinding.

In Sala II are stone and bone implements and

fragments of pottery of the Stone Age from other parts of Italy and from other lands, from Asia, Africa and America as well as Europe, for comparison.

The Umbrians, who conquered the Ligurians and made Felsina the capital of their dominion, came from the Asiatic cradle of these races some centuries later than the Ligurians. Like the kindred races that people Greece, they had already attained to skill in the working of metals, at least of bronze or brass. They had a developed art in pottery and understood weaving. They brought with them from their home in Asia a distinctly developed civilization, social order, their own rites of burial, and a system of religion. The primitive and ruder inhabitants were conquered, and though there is some evidence that a few remained as subjects even in the political centre of Umbrian rule, the greater number retired to the terremare of Modena, Reggio and Parma. In these regions traces of them remain as having continued on into the time of the Etruscan occupation. In this respect archaeological research confirms tradition.

The discoveries of prehistoric sites in and around Bologna have led, through careful and systematic study, to the elucidation of many points of the greatest historical interest in connection with the early inhabitants of the country. Count Gozzadini made the discoveries on his property at Villanova in May, 1853, and the care with which he and his wife watched over the excavations, and his exact

of the most important collections in the Museo Civico.

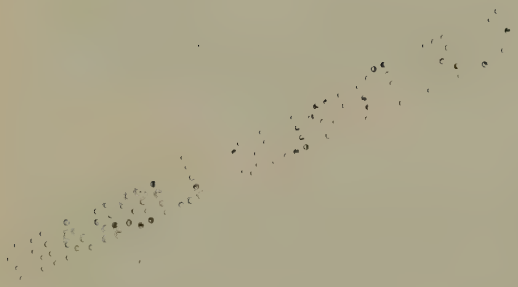
The most highly valued find in the collection is the fine bronze situla with its four lines of embossed figures. This is undoubtedly a wonderful specimen of Umbrian art. It was excavated in 1870, and the thin bronze plate was in over fifty fragments. With great skill and patience Zannoni restored it, fastening the pieces on a wooden form or "anima." We now see it complete, giving its moulded illustration of the military, religious and civil manners of the Umbrian people. The highest row gives the military procession. First cavalry, then four groups of warriors on foot, each group differently armed and clothed. The second line shows a religious procession marching in an opposite direction to the one above. There are priests and priestesses, and sacrificial animals. The utensils carried, and the "cista a cordoni"[1] borne on the head of one of the priestesses, are representations of the very same utensils that we see among the collections in the museum, brought from the tombs of these same Umbrian people. The shape and the ornamentation are identical.

The third row gives us various illustrations of scenes from civil life. Agriculture is represented; there is a concert scene with musical instruments. Above a game is played. There is a hunting scene, and the return from the hunt.

The lowest row is composed of wild and fantastic animals.

UMBRIAN SITULA FOUND IN TOMB 68 IN THE CHIOSTRETTO DELLE MADONNE OF THE CERTOSA

Now in Sala X of the Museo Civico



The tombs actually within the circuit of the Certosa are Etruscan. The Umbrian tombs were found on the Stradello della Certosa, and in the Predio Benacci, the Predio De Lucca and the Predio Arnoaldi. These properties are on either side of the road leading from the Porta S. Isaia to the line of arcades connecting Meloncello and the Certosa. The most archaic remains were found in the Predio Benacci, the nearest to the town. The Scavi Benacci were begun in September, 1873. These were the tombs of the archaic Umbrian period. In Sala X of the Museum, case Y, we see the contents of a tomb of this period brought from these scavi.

The central case A and the wall case T show the collected pottery and bronze implements from these excavations. There is the large cinerary urn that contained the ashes of the deceased. Its primitive form is largest towards the base, it has one or two handles, mostly only one, and it is decorated in lines of geometrical patterns, incised or "graffiti." This ornamentation was done by hand with a pointed instrument while the clay was still soft. Later some patterns were stamped and show deeper cutting. Besides these urns the tombs contained bronze articles that had been valued by the departed.

There are various patterns of fibulae, some ornamented with bone or glass beads, pins, spiral bracelets, bronze bands for binding the hair, knives of the form known as "semi-lunata" supposed to

have been used as razors: pendants formed of balls, twisted and suspended, and chains. The bits of horses' bridles are very frequent in these tombs; often two are found together, and with them a pointed cylindrical instrument probably used as a goad for the horses. There are also little terra-cotta implements like our bobbins; sometimes as many as eighteen to thirty-eight were found in one tomb: three of these were without the whirl. These small objects have been arranged in groups separated by red threads to distinguish those belonging to each separate tomb. It is to be noted that no iron implements have been found in these earliest tombs. Only one iron ring was found in a tomb which marks the transition to the later period.

The Scavi De Lucca were begun in 1874, and here, as well as in the Scavi Benacci, were found tombs of the second Umbrian period. In Sala X the central case B, the wall cases S, R, four sections of the lower Y, and the sepulchral cases a, b, show the products of the excavations from this period. The tombs are similar to the earlier, but there is development in the art. There are changes in the form of the cinerary urns; the upper part is narrowed, and a distinct base is added. The geometrical decoration is not so frequent; in fact many urns are polished or have painted ornamentation. New forms of vases appear. We find the "situla," the "cista a cordoni," the cup with a high pedestal, "bicchieri," little vases, and "tazzas" with one

or two handles. There are fewer bobbins, and instead we find more whirls, some polished and others ornamented.

There is similar development in the bronze objects. There are many new forms in the fibulae, especially in amber and enamel of various colours. There are bracelets of plate metal set with beavers' teeth. Besides the cusped knife, we find long-shaped knives in increasing numbers. Forty-eight tombs of this period have the long-shaped knife, whilst only twenty-two have the "lunato" shaped. In one tomb only the two forms of knife are found together.

Iron implements are now frequent — fibulae, bracelets, bits, bent plates, daggers, little shovels and knives. There are bronze vases copying the shapes of those in terra-cotta, that is "ciste," "situle," little spherical vases, and "presentatoi." All these show marked progress both in pottery and metal work.

Of this date there have been found a few tombs showing burial without cremation, but very few, only twenty among nine hundred of the "bruciati." These skeletons are probably of the Ligurian race (cases a, b).

The Umbrian tombs of the later part of this period were found in the excavations of the Stradello della Certosa, and those at the Arsenal begun in June, 1874.

The collections made from the Stradello della Certosa are arranged in the wall case Q and the

octagonal case C; those from the Arsenal are in the Sala della stele and in wall case Q. The chief development is in fibulae "a doppio giro," in great enamelled fibulae, and in pins with large enamelled heads. There are numerous bracelets, some very massive, others light and elegant. We find handsome amber necklaces, and bronze vases, and implements in iron are becoming more perfect. Lastly, in a tomb at the Arsenal, were found a gold fibula and two gold bracelets of Phœnician workmanship, a tiny vase of blue glass, and an Egyptian amulet. These articles, which prove commercial relations with Eastern peoples, are to be seen in case V.

The tombs of the third and latest Umbrian period were found in the Scavi Tagliavini and the Scavi Arnoaldi. The products of this age of the highest development of the Umbrian art are arranged in Sala X, central case D and in wall case O.

The cinerary urns are now of finer clay and have a softer brown tint: the forms are more graceful and the ornamentation less stiff. We have no longer only geometrical lines; we have stars, roses and animals: serpents, ducks, doves, stags, dogs, apes and even the human figure. The predominant technique in these ornaments is "a stampa." There is great variety in the forms of the small vases. In the pottery we find "ciste a cordoni," "situle," "bicchieri," or goblets with one or two handles, high-stemmed cups: all the forms are graceful.

The progress in bronze work is equally marked. Most of the terra-cotta vases are copied in bronze. But the greatest variety is found in articles of ornament. These articles, brought from the Scavi Arnoaldi, are arranged in groups, and one can see at once by comparison the wonderful development.

The most complete collection of ornaments is formed of the fibulae. We see 150 of those "a doppio giro"; there are about 240 of the empty shell form, 130 solid shell shaped; over 200 of those of a simple arc; 19 with pendants, 9 with animal shapes; 120 set with glass, ivory, and amber, and about 100 of various shapes. The pins have heads of enamel, amber and bronze. There are about 100 bracelets of various forms. There are 90 bronze rings, and others of bone and amber. We find handles of bone and ivory. Of bronze arms there are only about 40 long-shaped knives. The other arms—swords, daggers, spears, hatchets, and the bits of this period—are all of iron.

There are also fibulae, bracelets and pendants made of iron. A great number of whirls were found in these tombs.

In the Scavi Arnoaldi were found: a human head in ivory of Oriental workmanship, a scarab, a little lion, and three little blue glass balsamarii. These are proof of the continuance of commercial relations with the Phœnicians. They are shown in case V.

We have now to consider the Etruscan tombs found in the excavations on the same sites or on

sites adjoining those where the Umbrian tombs were found, and on the site of the Giardino Margherita.

There are very marked differences between those of the two races. Cremation is no longer the exclusive rite. Two-thirds of the tombs contain the perfect skeleton. The greater number of the tombs are marked by sandstone "stele." Some of these are spherical, some square, but the greater number are oval shaped. Many of the "stele" are carved on one or both faces with scenes illustrating the religious beliefs of the Etruscans with regard to the fate of the soul after its departure from the body.

The furniture of these tombs, both in pottery and in metals, is quite different from that found in the Umbrian tombs. Instead of vases with incised patterns, we find painted Greek vases, and rough local pottery in imitation of the forms of the Greek vases. Instead of the great variety in the forms of the fibulae, we find only two types, one formed something like a harp terminating in a button; the other finishes in a kind of swallow tail. For the first time we find some new bronze utensils, —"colatoi" or strainers, "œnocoi," candelabra, feet of seats, and mirrors. Also little caskets of bone, bone dice, glass balsamarii of various colours, and silver fibulae. The more ancient Etruscan tombs were found in the Predio Arnoaldi, near to the Umbrian tombs of latest date. They were ranged in the same line as the Umbrian ones, but farther from the road, towards the Certosa. Pro-

bably, therefore, the objects found in the Umbrian tombs of the Predio Arnoaldi are but little earlier in date than those found in the Etruscan tombs on the same property. The early date of these Etruscan tombs is proved by their containing some specimens of Corinthian pottery, though of the latest period. These are little spherical balsamarii and little amphorae "a squame" or scale pattern (case M and central case E).

In the first division of the lower part of case E is a fine amphora with the figures on one side red, on the other side black. This combination is rare; so that this amphora is one of the most important in the collection, and it proves early date. The fine vase in the separate case f. represents Hector's son Astyanax killed in the presence of Priam.

The vases in case E, from the Predio De Lucca, are a little later in date. Among them are two fine "crateri," one representing Circe, with the companions of Ulysses changed into beasts, and the other probably showing preparations for the marriage of Hercules with Hebe.

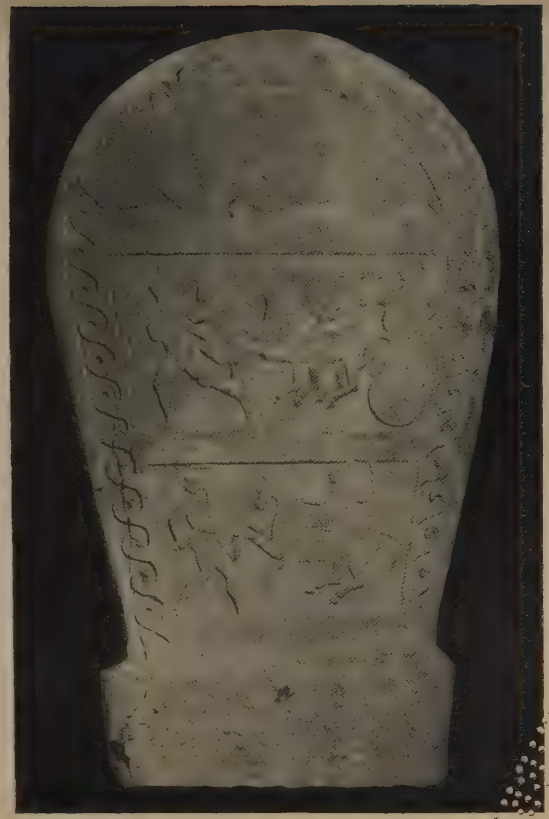
In the De Lucca tombs six silver fibulae were found, two large gold ones, and a pair of gold earrings: these are in case V.

The "stele" from the Arnoaldi and De Lucca tombs are numbered 2 to 8.

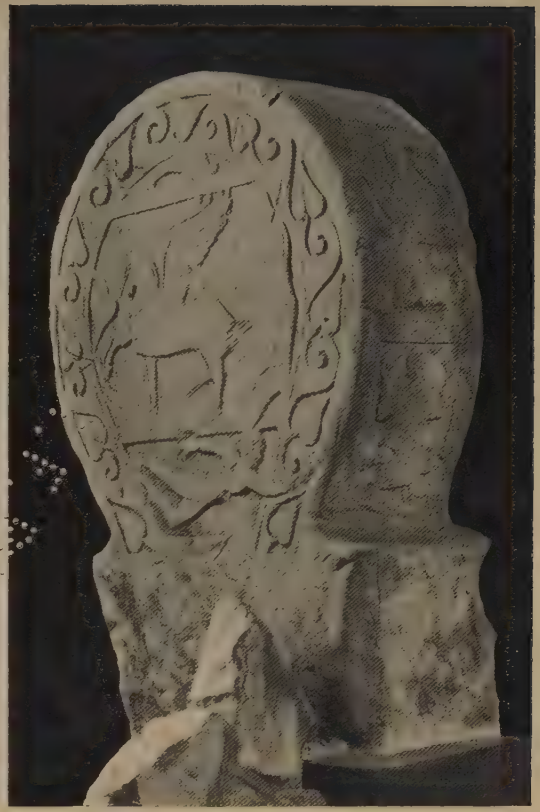
Some of the tombs found at the Certosa have been removed to the museum, thus showing the form of these tombs and their contents as disinterred. The tombs "ad incinerazione" are in the

cases marked g, h, i, m, those containing the whole skeleton are in the cases n to a.1°. The most important "stele" from these tombs are ranged along the wall, numbered from 9 to 16. The finest is No. 13, which shows the soul on its way to the infernal regions; it is in a car drawn by winged horses which are led by a winged "genius." No. 14 shows a similar subject, but in this case there is no "genius." In No. 16 we have the same subject, and below a child nourished by a wolf.

The small objects found in these tombs,—fibulae, bracelets, and necklets of coloured glass and amber beads, dice, with the stones used as counters, and the bronze feet of various pieces of furniture—are arranged in case F. In the lower part of this case are the "ciste a cordoni," which contained the ashes of the deceased. The large nails are those used to fasten the wooden coffins of those who were buried without cremation. In the upper part of case G are some specimens of "æs rude," the money of that time. The little plates of ivory, some carved, were the ornamental coverings of wooden boxes; the ivory tubes are remains of their hinges. In the lower part, besides a bronze cista with three feet, there are "situle" with two handles, "œnocoi, patere, simpuli and colatoi." In case L are some bronze candelabra ornamented with little statues. The painted "tazze" are in F and G; the Greek vases in the long wall case L. In the centre of case G are many pretty little vases of coloured glass. There are a



ETRUSCAN STELA. NO 13. SALA X



ETRUSCAN STELA. ANNEXE TO SALA X

Museo Civico

CASE H. CONTENTS OF THE TOMB OF A PERSON OF WEALTH

From the Giardino Margherita

few gold and silver fibulae, ear-rings and rings from these Certosa tombs in case V.

Another group of Etruscan tombs was found in making excavations for the artificial lake in the Giardino Margherita in 1875. These tombs had the same characteristics as those of the Certosa, and contained similar furniture and ornament. Their contents are arranged in the far end of case G, and in cases H and I and b.1°. The armour from the warrior's tomb in case I is specially interesting. In H are the possessions of a person of wealth and position. The fine crater has the representation of Menelaus carrying off Helen. There are some other specially interesting vases in b.1°. The subject painted on the crater is the infant Theseus emerging from the sea of Crete supported by a Triton. A stamnos has scenes from the gynecium.

The finest of the "stele," No. 17, was found in the Giardino. A good many gold and silver ornaments were found in these tombs. There were 23 silver fibulae in one, with 2 gold ones, and a silver one with large silver pendants linked in pairs. Another tomb contained a large silver fibula ornamented with fascets of gold. In another was the large necklace of rudely carved pieces of amber. These ornaments are in case V. The lower line of the little vases of coloured glass in the centre of G come from the Giardino Margherita tombs.

So far we have been considering only the antiquities found in the tombs. But we have the

proofs that the site of the city of the earlier races lies within, or very nearly within, the widest circuit of the mediaeval walls. At Villa Bosi, just outside the Porta d'Azeglio, Zannoni found in January, 1872, in the course of work for the enlargement of the villa, the foundations of five "capanne" or huts of the Ligurian inhabitants of the terramare. Fourteen more of these "fondi di capanne" were found when he came to work near the same spot for the construction of the reservoir of the aqueduct. And at various dates, from August 13th, 1872, onwards, in the course of work under the roads and in the foundations of houses, the evident remains of the "capanne" or huts of the Umbrian and Etruscan inhabitants have been found and carefully excavated and examined by experts. The first Umbrian "fondi di capanne" discovered were those found in the via Pratello in digging for the construction of a branch of the sewer, in August, 1872. Signor Zannoni was then "l'Ingegnere-Architetto Capo" to the Municipio. Six of these habitations were quickly opened out, and before the work was finished Zannoni had carefully explored twenty-nine "fondi di capanne."

A group of nineteen Umbrian habitations was found in the Piazza Galileo in the course of alterations there. And close to these the foundations of a house of quite different structure, which proved to be Etruscan. Some, too, were found close to the Porta d'Azeglio in August, 1873.

Those in the Prato di S. Francesco were found in January, 1877. They numbered twelve, and just south of No. VIII was discovered that great dolium with its store from the Fonderia. Others have been found in the via S. Felice, the via Ugo Bassi, the via S. Isaia, the via Independenza, and here and there over the city, sometimes one only, sometimes the excavations have been sufficiently extensive to uncover a group. The distribution shows the Umbrian city to have extended within a circuit not diverging greatly from a true circle, from Porta S. Isaia, crossing the via S. Felice near to the Canale del Reno, passing within the circuit of the twelfth century walls not far from the via Galliera, then on round near to the Piazza Ravegnana, within sight of the two towers, enclosing the Piazza Galileo, again crossing the twelfth century walls a little below the via Saragozza, passing the fourteenth century walls a little to the west of Porta d'Azeglio, and so round just outside Porta Saragozza back to Porta S. Isaia. Foundations of Etruscan houses, besides the one in the Piazza Galileo, have been found in the via d'Azeglio, the via Galliera, and in many other parts of the city, and there is reason to think that the Etruscan circuit differed but little from that of the Umbrian city, and both were larger in extent than the mediaeval city enclosed by the walls dating from A.D. 1200. The Umbrian city was therefore in extent about half the size of modern Bologna, and, from the data observed, Zannoni estimates that

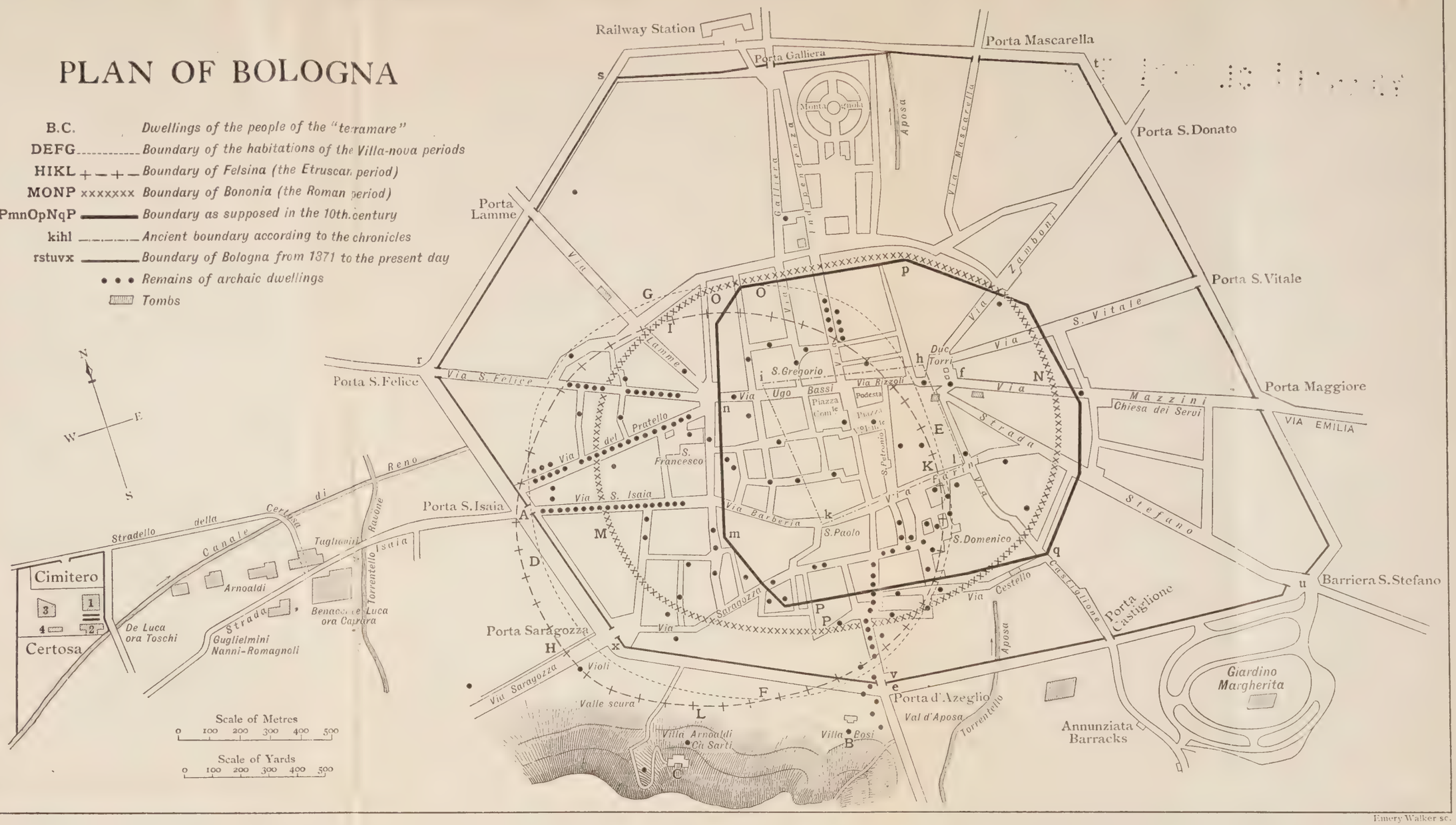
is rarely found in the tombs. There are small bronze implements of domestic use,—needles, "punteruoli" or awls, saws, files, gouges, machines for grinding; weapons for defence, for hunting and fishing,—lances, paalstabs, knives and arrow-heads, some of these last of stone. There are also many implements of bone and carved horn; the remains of food and quantities of bones of the animals that had been used for food.

Little "Idoletti" were found in two houses in the via Frassinago and in the via Mazzini; they were probably Lares, or household gods. Also in via Cà-Selvatica, which probably marks a sanctuary of the Penates.

The articles found both in the tombs and in the houses prove an advanced stage of civilization, and considerable skill in workmanship in the people who produced them. We see that they had a good idea of the comforts and conveniences of life. They well understood the principle of the safety-pin; in the fibulae it is combined with great variety in design and ornamentation, and the museum shows us numerous examples of giant progenitors of the modern hook and eye. The hook and eye principle developed, produced the Umbrian buckles of which our illustration gives a specimen. These ancient peoples had their vanities too in dress, as we see from the variety of highly ornamented fibulae and pins, besides the necklets of amber and of various coloured beads. Then, too, there are those little "penderuole," in varying shapes and

PLAN OF BOLOGNA

B.C. *Dwellings of the people of the "terramare"*
DEFG ---------- *Boundary of the habitations of the Villa-nova periods*
HIKL + — + — *Boundary of Felsina (the Etruscan period)*
MONP xxxxxxx *Boundary of Bononia (the Roman period)*
PmnOpNqP ——— *Boundary as supposed in the 10th. century*
kihl — · — · — *Ancient boundary according to the chronicles*
rstuvx ——— *Boundary of Bologna from 1371 to the present day*
• • • *Remains of archaic dwellings*
Tombs



Emery Walker sc.

THIS PLAN WAS CONSTRUCTED BY PROFESSOR ANTONIO ZANNONI FOR HIS WORK "ARCAICHE ABITAZIONE DI BOLOGNA," AND IS REPRODUCED WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

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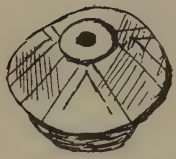

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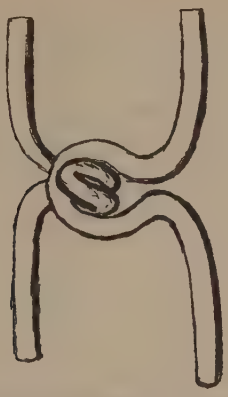
E. E. C. F.

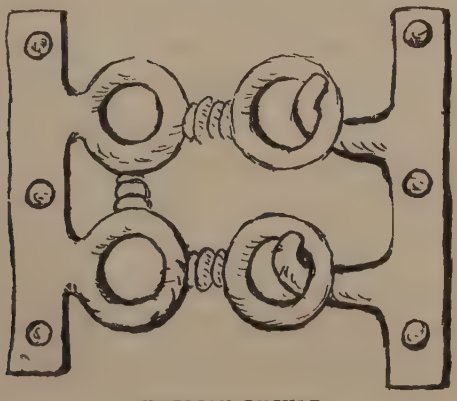
PENDERUOLE

sizes, which have puzzled antiquaries. The best explanation of them seems to be that suggested by Gozzadini, and approved by other authorities, that



UMBRIAN HOOK AND EYE

these little clay "penderuole" were the weights used by the ancients to keep in place the folds of their drapery. These folds had their distinctive names, and it was thought of great importance



UMBRIAN BUCKLE

that they should hang rightly. The weights may be noticed in the draperies or ancient sculptures.

There are two examples of the Etruscan "sepolcro a ciottoli" in the atrium of the museum. They were excavated from a depth of seven metres below the level of the Church of the Certosa: they have been transferred to the museum with the remains of the skeleton still within them.

The antiquities from the Gallic tombs are in a small room opening out of Sala X. The Gallic tombs were found about 15 in the Predio De Lucca, and some 25 in the Predio Benacci. The arms prove the remains to be those of a warrior race. Among the objects found in these tombs were two engraved mirrors; and in many respects the contents show Etruscan influence. In the case to the right on entering there is a fine bronze handle with a mask. The Gallic fibula of gold and some barbaric ornaments found in digging the foundations for the new Palazzo della Posta in October, 1905, have been placed in case V.

The small room also contains pipes from the Roman aqueduct, and small objects of Roman date from Claterna. Also small pots from the Roman sepolcri Arnoaldi.

The walls of Sala X are decorated with copies of the frescoes painted by the Etruscans in their great tombs. The subjects are taken from the chambers at Chiusi, Corneto, and Cervetri. One from Cervetri is suggestive of the story of Iphigenia.

CHAPTER XIII

MUSEO CIVICO—EGYPTIAN, GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

ΛΥΚ. *τῶν δὲ Φειδίου ἔργων τί μάλιστα επῆνεσας;*
ΠΟΛ. *τί δ' ἄλλο ἢ τὴν Λημνίαν, ἣ καὶ επιγράψαι τοὔνομα Φειδίας ἠξίωσε.*
LUCIAN.

THE first place has been given to the Umbrian and Etruscan antiquities because they form the most distinctively important collections in the Museum.

In Sala III–V there is a small, but interesting, collection of Egyptian antiquities. They were mostly acquired by Nizzoli when Austrian Consul in Egypt. Palagi purchased them from him in 1832, and he bequeathed them to his native city. One of the papyri on the walls was written by the secretary of Rameses the Great; another, also in the hieratic character, dates from the time of Menephtha I. There is a mummy-case of wood, of the rare waggon-topped shape. It is covered with prayers in hieroglyphics. There is also a fine collection of bronze statuettes of divinities.

Sala VI contains the Greek antiquities. Most important among these is the fine head on colonna

A. There has been some doubt as to the attribution of this head. It has been called "the fine head of a Greek youth." But even before the consideration of the evidence for its claim to be called the head of Athene, we may conclude from careful examination that it is the head of a woman. The way in which the hair is drawn back over the ears is distinctly feminine; the finely moulded form of the cheeks is feminine also: and a womanly grace seems to underlie the inspiration of the work. Youth and strength are combined with grace in the sculptor's ideal for this statue. The head has been identified by Furtwängler as belonging to one of the contemporary copies of the Athene of Lemnos, a fine work of Pheidias. The original bronze statue stood on the Acropolis at Athens, and was a dedicatory offering from the Kleruchs who were departing as colonists to the island of Lemnos. These Kleruchs left Athens in one of the years between 451 and 448 B.C., and it was at that time that Pheidias executed this beautiful statue, which was one of his finest works. Lucian speaks of it with warm appreciation, and Pausanias describes it as the best worth seeing of the works of Pheidias. There are two antique, and probably contemporary copies of this statue in the Albertinium at Dresden. The head of one is missing, and the head of the other had been spoiled by ill-judged restorations and clumsy setting on. It was Flasch who discovered that this patched head was a replica of the head in Bologna, which he con-

ATHENE OF LEMNOS

sidered to be the head of an Amazon, whilst Conze declared it to be the head of a youth.

The Dresden head was relieved of the helmet and other mistaken restorations, and carefully completed on the lines of the Bologna head. For a time the corrected head was placed in a separate room from the statue. It remained for Furtwängler to discern, as a result of his studies in search of the type for Athene, that the head did indeed belong to the body from which it had been parted, and only needed to be rightly set to match in marking and the lines of fracture. The marble was evidently the same, and this was made clear in replacing it. Thus was the chain of evidence completed which proves the head at Bologna to be the head of Athene. The statues at Dresden have the aegis with its Gorgon head and its border of intertwining serpents. The aegis is set somewhat crosswise, indicating the peaceful import of the statue. It is in conformity with this same peaceful meaning that Athene is represented without her helmet. In the earlier art, just preceding this work of Pheidias, Athene is frequently represented as carrying her helmet in her hand. She is frequently so represented on the later black figure Attic vases, and on the earlier red figure vases, chiefly in the time from 480–450 B.C. Within the last year a full-sized copy of the Dresden Athene has been placed beside the head in the " Museo " at Bologna.

In case B are five Lekythoi, white Attic funeral vases; painted tazzas: the two most important

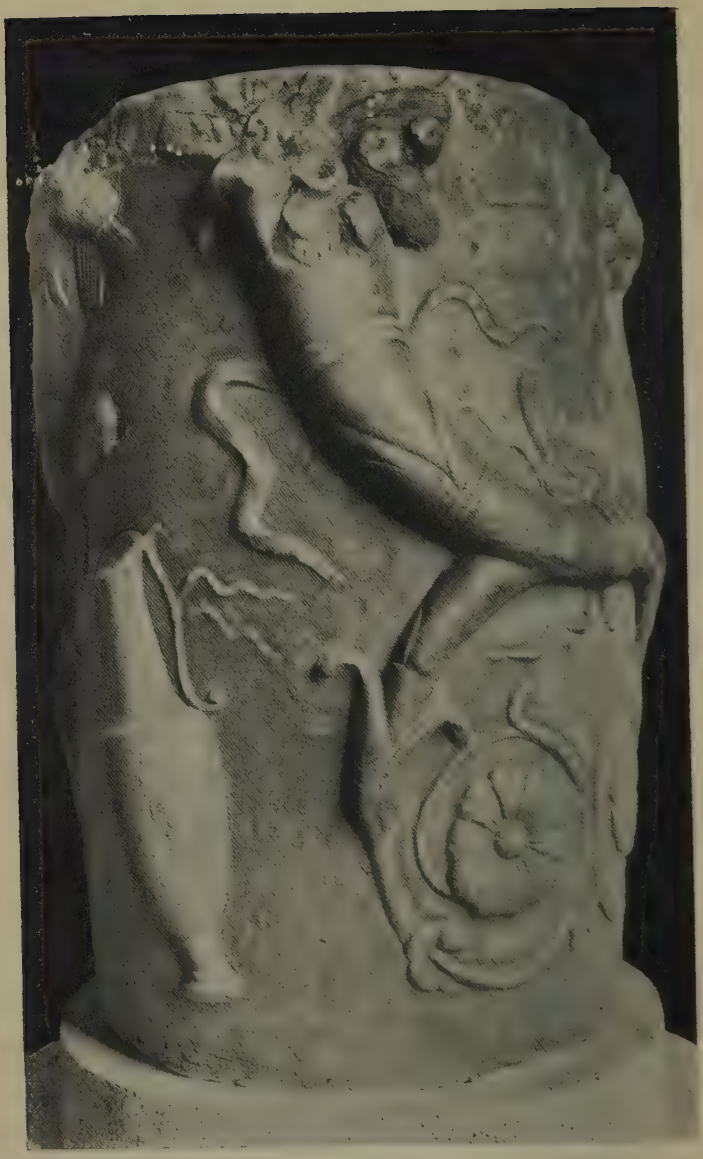
are the one representing Codrus, king of Athens and Ainetos; and the other showing Jupiter in pursuit of Egina. In the central section are articles of gold work—necklets, earrings, fibulae, amulets, charms and bracelets—of Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan and Roman work, and many incised gems.

Case C contains heads, busts and statuettes in marble. The most important are: the bust of a Satyr holding a skin bottle, a head of Silenus, a head of Laokoon, two statuettes of Diana of Ephesus, a half head of Apollo in basalt, heads of Satyrs and Bacchante in "giallo antico."

In case D are attic vases of the form of the Lekythoi, with yellow figures of fine design: white and black Lekythoi. There is a little spherical vase of the finest archaic style with a representation of a battle of Hercules with the Amazons. The marble head of a bearded Greek on colonna E is a good work. Case F contains a large collection of various forms and styles. In the 4th row are Corinthian painted vases: the earliest have geometrical ornamentation; the later have figures of animals. One vase is specially worthy of note: it is archaic, and has most beautiful figures of the priests of Cypele, and is signed with the name of the painter, "Nicosthenes." The case also contains Panathenaic amphorae.

In case N is a little doll with arms and legs that move.

The Roman statuary in Sala VII is not of great value.



CLASSICAL ALTAR

In Sala IX, A a bronze tripod. In the central case B are Roman terra-cotta lamps of rare form. The most remarkable are those adorned with half-moons, and others with 2, 3, 7 and 11 holes in one upright piercing. The case also contains a consular diptych and an ivory plate from another. On the opposite side of the case are Christian memorial glasses with figures painted in gold. Below are Roman remains.

The fine round marble column (C) in this room comes from a church in Lower Romagna. It was first a pagan altar. On two sides are "corni d'abbondanza riuniti." Between them on one side is a tall slender vase with handle; on the other side is a sort of rose. In the church the column was used to contain holy water in its cavity. In bringing the classical sculpture to the museum Prof. Brizio replaced it in the church by a copy. On the wall (F) there is an interesting Roman relief representing the operations of a bakery. The large case H contains, among other things, a series of Roman weights in black stone, some square, some round, and some metal weights of mediaeval date, one of the time of Charlemagne with the inscription "Pondus Caroli." There are compasses, stelae, hairpins, surgical instruments, keys, bronze spoons and forks, and a variety of implements. Bronze fragments from furniture, blacksmith's tools, and bronze plates with inscriptions.

CHAPTER XIV

MUSEO CIVICO

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN SECTION

IN Sala XII is a collection of arms. Case A contains arms of uncivilized races, mostly from the Upper Nile. There are Turkish arms in C. D. and G. Case F contains three complete suits of armour for men and one for a woman. Also a fine shield, with the device of Bergamo in the centre, and around it the legend "Populus Universus agri bergomensis." It is adorned with trophies and figures of four of the cardinal virtues engraved and gilded.

The most valuable arms in the collection are in case H, and some of them are of very fine workmanship. The saddle, inlaid with carved ivory and coloured ornaments, is German work of the fifteenth century. Two guns, richly inlaid with ivory and mother-o'-pearl, bear the arms of General Ferdinando Marsigli, to whom the museum owes the greater part of this collection.

There is a small but very interesting collection of pottery in Sala XIII. The most important is the Italian maiolica, of which there are some very fine specimens. In case A are two large vases with

handles of Spanish-Moorish maiolica with metallic reflection. These are very valuable; they date from the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. They are attributed to the Malaga manufactory, where this make of pottery originated. Also a plate with the arms of Leo X, and the motto of Giuliano de' Medici "GLOVIS," which has been interpreted as SI VOLG (e la fortuna); this device and motto are usually only found on pottery made in Tuscan workshops.

Case B contains the most precious Italian maiolica. First the specimens of early "mezza maiolica," one dated 1499. Next specimens of the best period of the art. Among these is a fine plate on which is represented the coronation of Charles V. On the back is written "Fato in Faenza in caxa Pirofa." Another plate decorated with the arms of Este-Gonzaga, and around various episodes of the fable of Mirra. The very large plate painted with trophies and torches, mingled with medallions with busts of the Emperors, was the work of Pier del Castello, whose name may be seen on a label at the back.

The most magnificent is the brilliantly coloured plate with metallic reflection by Maestro Giorgio. It is considered by Delange the finest work of this celebrated artist. The subject is the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. The plate is signed at the back with the initials M° G° and the date, "1535. finj di maiolica."

The maiolica in case C is much less valuable.

But the two large vases, "da farmacia," made in 1728, are interesting. They were made to contain the famous "teriaca," the medicine compounded with so much ceremony in the "cortile" of the Archiginnasio.

There are some fine specimens of delicate work among the glass of Murano, and other countries, in case G. Very valuable are the two decanters with long necks with fine decoration, and the arms of Gio. II Bentivoglio and his wife Ginevra Sforza: and the clear crystal dish, with its delicate network of fine intertwining white threads. The most valuable piece is the little chalice of blue glass, decorated with sacred subjects in exquisitely fine design—the Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt, with the busts of two prophets between. It is a work of the first half of the fifteenth century, probably by the artist Angelo Beroviero.

Sala XIV contains specimens of various arts. In case A is a very valuable triptych of Limoges enamel. It represents the story of St. John the Baptist. In the centre are two fine ivory and ebony dishes. One is carved in bas-relief with the subject of the Triumph of Galatea, and smaller subjects around it. The other has in the centre David, seated and playing on his harp; and his deeds are represented in smaller carvings around. One of these dishes is dated 1672. Corresponding to them are two ewers.

In case B is a rectangular coffer of carved ivory,

BUST OF POPE GREGORY XIII BY MENGANTI. SALA XV, MUSEO CIVICO

THE NEPTUNE BY GIOVANNI DA BOLOGNA, AND THE MONUMENT OF PIETRO CANONICI, MUSEO CIVICO. SALA XV

a work of the fourteenth century. The marriage strong-boxes are of the fifteenth century. There is also a red leather case decorated with the arms of Giovanni II Bentivoglio and of Genevra Sforza, his wife.

In cases C and D we see a good collection of musical instruments from the "Liceo Musicale."

Of the two "arciliuti," one was made at Padua in 1609 by the Venetian Wendelio, and the other in Venice in 1639 by Matteo Selles.

Of the three "Triorbe," one was constructed in Bologna by Hans Frei in 1597; another was made by Ottavio Smit in 1613, in Parma. Among the four lutes, one was made by Magno Dieffopruchar at Venice in 1612; the fine one, inlaid at the back with ivory, was made by Magno Stegher, also in Venice. The small harp is valued for its antiquity, dating from the fifteenth century.

There is a violin made by Carlo Tononi of Bologna in 1717.

In case D is the "Arcicembalo," made in 1606 for Carlo Gonzago, Conte di Novellara, by Vito de' Trasuntini of Venice.

Sala XV contains some fine bronzes. In the centre of the upper row of P is a portrait bust of Pope Gregory XIII. It is a splendid work by the Bolognese sculptor, Alessandro Menganti. The bust in stone of Pope Innocent XII is a replica of the one in Ravenna by Bernini.

N. Bronze model for the figure of Neptune for the great fountain in the Piazza, by Gian. Bologna.

There are various little differences between this and the colossal statue as finally executed.

O. The bronze group of the Archangel Michael in the act of striking the devil beneath his feet is the work of Alessandro Algardi, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century.

R. The head of our Saviour in high relief is by the Bolognese sculptor Lazaro Casario. It is a very fine work.

Among the small bronzes in case A are two fine candlesticks; they are elaborate work of the close of the sixteenth century. Included in their decoration are shields with the insignia of the Arciconfraternita della Morte. Also a small bronze statuette of the Mercury of Gian. Bologna.

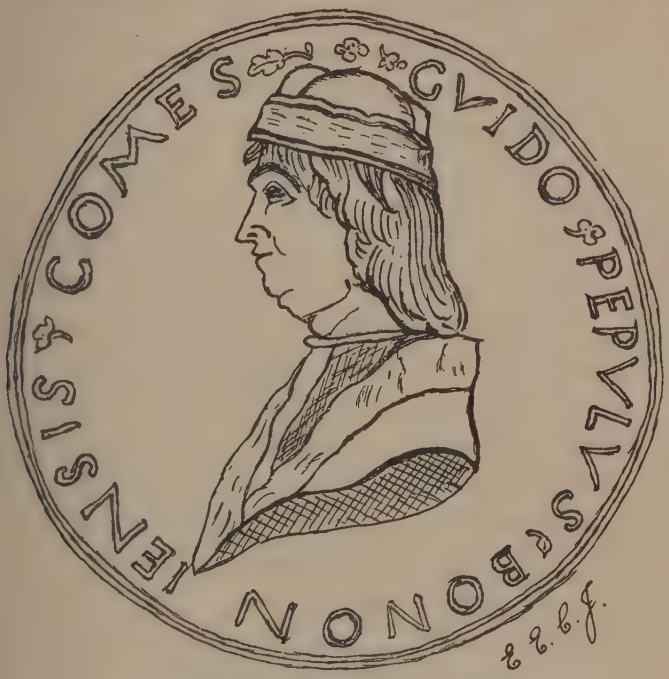
In the fine collection of seals in case E the most remarkable are: the seal of the Chapter of the Church of Bologna (fifteenth century), in bronze; the silver seal of the faculty of Theology (fourteenth century); the seal of the Papal College of Law (sixteenth century); the seal of Loderingo d'Andalo, "frate gaudente," recorded by Dante; and the seal of Giovanni d'Andrea, the celebrated lecturer on the Decretals.

There is a splendid collection of medals. The most important of those in case G are:—

Vittorino da Feltre
Leonello d'Este
Cecilia Gonzaga
} by Vittore Pisano.

Isotta da Rimini
Leo Battista Alberti
} by Matteo de' Pasti.

Giuliano della Rovere
Guido Pepoli } by Sperandio.
Sultan Mahomet II, by Gentile Bellini.
Galeazzo Marescotti, by Antonio Marescotti.



MEDAL OF COUNT GUIDO PEPOLI
By Sperandio

And medals by the Milanese Amadeo, by Nicolo and others.

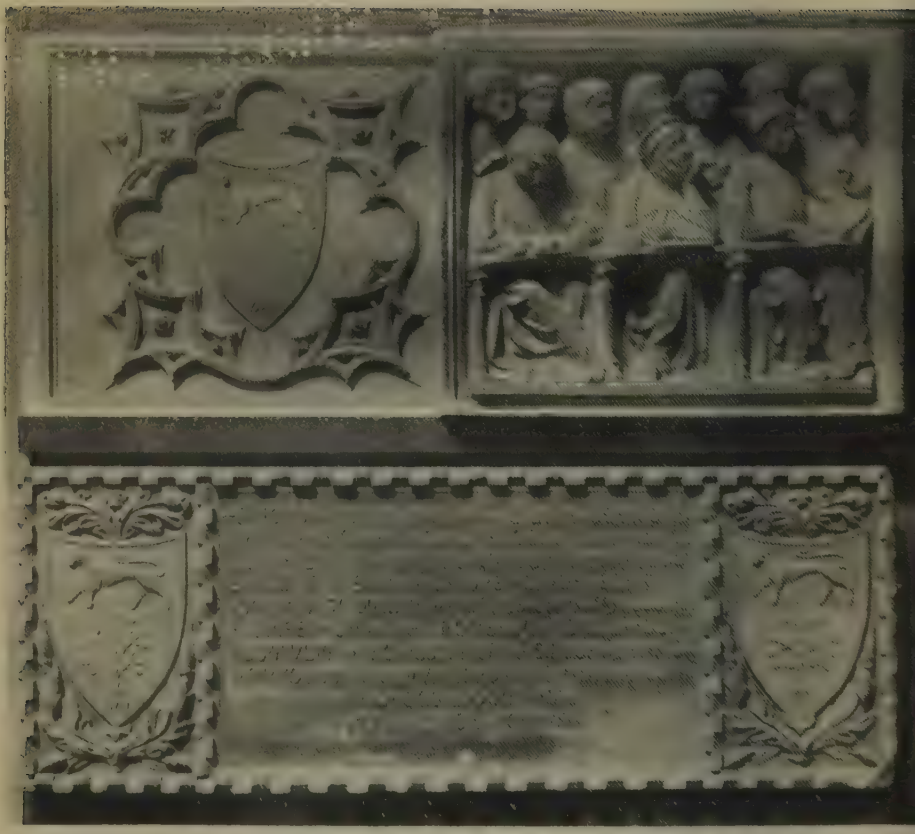
Five medals of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, by Francesco Francia.

Two medals of Isabella d'Este, by Gian Cristoforo Romano.

And two medals of Clement VII, by Benvenuto Cellini.

In case H, in the top line, left-hand side, are two medals of Ariosto, and one of the Doge Leonardo Lauredani: and in the middle line one of Dante. The finest specimen is the medal which represents Charles V, with an angel entreating him to make war on the Sultan: it is in the lowest row on the side facing case C. There is also a fine medal of Francis I.

The collection (in Sala XV) of the sepulchral monuments of the great "Lettori," or Lecturers, of the Studio of Bologna are of very great interest. Two of the series are on the wall of the preceding room. All were originally placed in, or just outside, the churches, mostly the great Franciscan and Dominican churches. They were brought to the Museo when in revolutionary times these fine and unique records of the glories of the great University were in danger of complete destruction. Besides their historical importance, most of them have a very great artistic value. The type is in most cases the same: the lecturer is seated, instructing his pupils, who are ranged on either side of him. One monument only of this type remains where it was originally placed. That is the monument to the memory of the great physician, Liuccio dei Luzzi, which was placed by his nephew Mondino, in 1318, in the outside wall of the church of SS. Vitale and Agricola. We still see this monument under the "portico," close to the door of entrance to the church. This is one of the few monuments signed by the artist who sculptured it.



FRAGMENTS OF THE MONUMENT OF GIO. DA LEGNANO. MUSEO CIVICO

The other monuments of the "Lettori" that remain in their original places, though not of this type of design, are :—

The tombs of Accursius, Odofredus and Rolandino dei Romanzi, outside S. Francesco ; the tombs of Egidio Foscherari, and of Rolandino Passeggeri in the Piazza Galileo, and the tomb of Alessandro Tartagni inside the church of S. Domenico.

The earliest in date is the monument of Bartoluzzo de' Preti, lecturer in Civil Law, 1318 (No. 6). The armorial bearings were erased from the shields in the revolutionary ardour cultivated by the French at the close of the eighteenth century.

One of the most interesting is (No. 4) the monument of Maffeo Gandoni, lecturer in Civil Law, 1330. Behind is the beadle carrying a book. The students, listening to Bonandrea de' Bonandrei, lecturer on the Decretals, look particularly studious (No. 8). The monument is dated 1331, and was brought from S. Domenico in 1881.

The fine monument of Giovanni d'Andrea was sculptured for the church of S. Domenico by Jacopo Lanfrani da Venezia. Giovanni was a famous lecturer on Canon Law, and the father of Novella and Bettina d'Andrea.

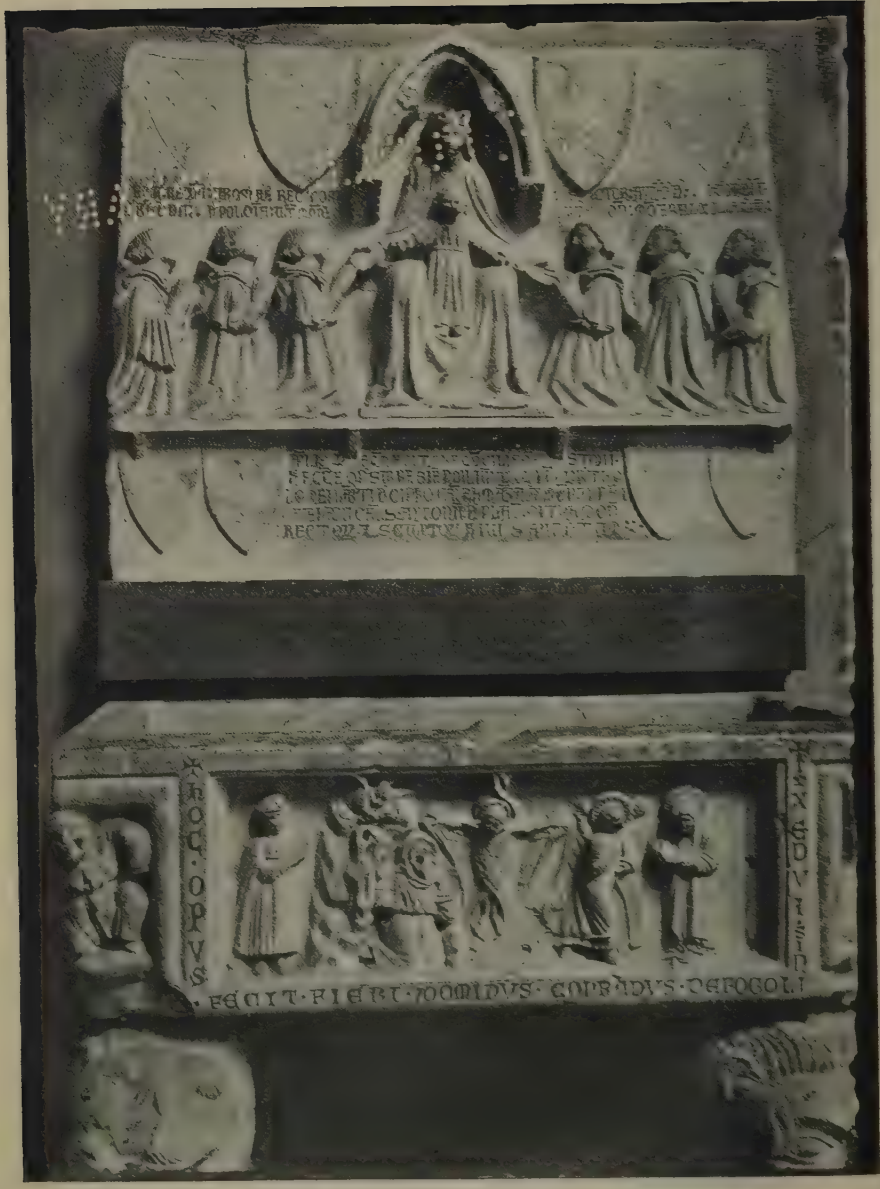
Only fragments remain of the magnificent monument sculptured by the brothers Jacobello and Pier Paolo dalle Massegne to honour the memory of the great lecturer on Canon Law, Giovanni da Legnano, 1383 (No. 17). He was beloved for his virtues as well as admired for his learning. The

group of pupils on the right hand of the lecturer alone remains. It deserves study for the fineness of the sculpture. There is a distinctive character in the faces, and variety in the attitudes. The inscription and the armorial bearings on the shields remain in perfect preservation. The Bolognese testified their respect for Giovanni da Legnano by a very stately funeral, and by erecting this splendid monument in the cloisters of S. Domenico. Oblivious of the past glories of the University and of the claims of art, the Bolognese responsible for its care at the beginning of the nineteenth century sold it to a stone-mason. Thus it has come to pass that only these fragments remain to give us some idea of how beautiful it was when first erected.

The fine monuments in memory of three distinguished members of the family of Saliceto are the work of Andrea da Fiesole. His name is signed on the upper one, the monument of Bartolomeo da Saliceto—"*Opus Andree de Fesulis* 1412." The monument below this, dated 1403, shows two University "chairs" side by side each under a canopy. There is only one figure of a lecturer, and that is a restoration, as Salvatore Muzzi, writing in 1840, mentions that both figures are wanting. This one is probably Roberto. The monument commemorates Roberto and Riccardo. Bartolomeo was the nephew and pupil of Riccardo. All three were Professors of Law at the University of Bologna. The monument of Pietro Canetoli, 1403, is probably also the work of Andrea da Fiesole

MONUMENTS OF THE SALICETI. MUSEO CIVICO. SALA XVI

Public Library



THE "PACE" OR RECONCILIATION MONUMENT.
MUSEO CIVICO. SALA XVI

The monument of Lorenzo Pini (1542), on the wall of Sala XV, shows a return to the type of the fourteenth century monuments, and is good work. On the other side of the warrior in the centre of the wall is the monument of Pietro Canonici, showing delicate design and carving.

Closely connected with these monuments of the great Doctors of the University of Bologna is the very interesting "Reconciliation Monument." It commemorates the peace established after the last serious breach between the University of Bologna and the civic authorities. Some account of this quarrel is given in the University Chapter. One condition of this agreement was that besides a contribution of money from the town towards the cost of building the church of S. Mamolo for the University, this monument should be placed in the church to bear witness to the peace. The church has entirely disappeared, but a copy of this monument still marks its site, built into the wall of the house since erected on the spot in the street now called via d'Azeglio. Another copy is in the vestibule of the Archivio di Stato. Besides its historical interest, the monument is a very fine piece of sculpture. All these monuments have their special points of interest. It has only been possible to mention the most important.

The monument of Domenico Garganelli (on wall E of Sala XVI) is of quite another type from those of the "Lettori." It is probably the work of Nicolo dall' Arca, though Corrado Ricci is more

inclined to assign it to Francesco da Simone. Another fine monument of distinctive character is that of Dino di Gerardo de' Ghisilieri, who was made " cavaliere " by Gio. Pepoli in 1345 (wall 6).

On wall E are the reliefs of the Virgin and Child, and of St. George, sculptured by Jacopo della Quercia.

The crosses in the centre of the room are copies of those now in S. Petronio, and of some from other parts of the city. The great bronze bell (L) is the one that formerly hung in the " Camera di Commercio " of Bologna. The inscription with the date 1442 tells, besides the name of the founder, " Bon Accursius," how the bell was called, and the names of the judge and consuls who caused it to be made.

The statue in metal plate of Pope Boniface VIII (H) is the one made by the Bolognese goldsmith Manno, in honour of the Pope, which for centuries, in its place on the front of the Palazzo Pubblico, testified to the gratitude of the people of Bologna for his fatherly care for them.

In Sala XVII there is a fine collection illustrating the art of the miniaturist. Some of the Antiphonaries are quite primitive work. No. 1 and the set 2–7, which are probably all the work of one artist, are at least as early in date as the beginning of the thirteenth century. The next set (8–12) show improved capacity in art. One of the most interesting specimens of this earliest miniature work in Bologna is the book of the Statutes of the

SALA XVI OF THE MUSEO CIVICO WITH MONUMENT OF DINO DE GERARDO DE' GHISILIERI

Carpenters, which is preserved in the Archivio di Stato.

The Antiphonaries and "corali" (13–26) belong to the fine period of work in the first half of the fourteenth century. The earliest work of the century shows the influence of the great masters Oderigi da Gubbio and Franco Bolognese, who had brought the miniaturist's art in Bologna to its highest excellence towards the close of the thirteenth century. The only miniatures remaining in Bologna that can with any probability be attributed to these great masters are in the Library of the Collegio di Spagno, most important among them the "Digestum vetus," annotated by Cardinal Albornoz himself. The splendid choral books once in the monastery of S. Michele, in Basco, are now in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena. In looking at this very beautiful miniature work, one feels impelled to recognize the hand of the great artist, Franco Bolognese, whose established fame earned the tribute from Dante.

The miniaturists were working well for lay patrons also in this first half of the fourteenth century, as is shown by the "matricole" and the "statuti" of the various guilds, some of which may be seen in these cases at the Museo Civico. These may be compared with the Church books; and in comparing the "Matricola de' Merciai" of 1314 (No. 84) with the Antifonario No. 13, one recognizes the same artist as designing both. A very fine specimen of the work of this period is the

" statuti della campagnia dei devoti battuti " of 1337. This codex was formerly in the care of the Amministrazione degli Ospedali, but it is now in the Biblioteca Comunale. The choral books No. 28–30, and the " statuti " and the " Matricola de' Merciai " for the year 1360 (N 87 and 88) are the work of Nicolo di Giacomo, the well-known Bolognese miniaturist. He has not signed all his work in Bologna, but it is well authenticated by comparison with work that is signed. The three books of the " creditori del monte " (1394 and 1395) which are in the Archivio di Stato are quite clearly signed " Nicolaus F." Other fine works by Nicolaus in the Archivio di Stato are—

" Statuti della sociata dei drappiere " del 1346.

" Statuti dell' arte della seta " del 1372.

" Statuti del Popolo di Bologna," 1379.

" Statuti della societa degli orefici " del 1383.

In work of the fifteenth century the codices N 44–52 are very beautiful. And there is some fine work of even later date.

N 93, the " Matricola degli Stracciaiuoli " for the year 1411 gives an interesting picture of the Piazzetta di Porta Ravegnana and the busy trading going on in it.

The fine " piviale " or cope in G, richly embroidered in coloured silk, is English embroidery of the best period of the thirteenth century. It represents incidents from the life of Christ and of the Virgin, and the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The most interesting of the early pictures are the Byzantine Madonna on a gold background, No. 103: the thirteenth century "Crocifisso," with its greenish shadows, No. 190: and the "Annunciation," signed by Jacobus Pauli (No. 221). The "Adoration of the Child" is perhaps by Marco Zoppo.

Above the door leading to the Library is the beautiful little "Crucifixion" by Francia.

CHAPTER XV

THE THREE DUOMOS

Quali, quali, al tuonar de' feri accenti
Forme s'accalcan per lo sacro loco?
Assistete, spirate, ecco io v'invoco,
O martiri, o fraterne ombre frementi.

THE Church history of Bologna begins at a very early date. It has been asserted that S. Apollinare, having founded the Christian church at Ravenna, also preached and made converts at Bologna in the course of missionary journeyings along the line of the Aemilian way. S. Apollinare was a convert taught by St. Peter himself, and by him sent to Ravenna, of which city he became the first Bishop.

There is some confusion in the traditions of the earliest Bishops of Bologna, but both the most authentic lists and the traditions concur in naming S. Zama as the first Bishop of the See. He came to Bologna as Bishop about 265 A.D., and he built its first Cathedral, and dedicated it to St. Peter. It was twice ruined within a century, and when the Bishop Felice restored it for the second time, in 401, he established there a College of Canons with the title of SS. Naborre and Felice. A Cathedral

CORTILE OF SS. NABORRE E FELICE
NOW THE MILITARY HOSPITAL

on a new site was built in the fifth century, but the church on the old site continued. Benedictine monks were established there in 1110, and it became a great monastery and was known as the Badia dei SS. Naborre and Felice. Gratian, the celebrated compiler of the "Decretum" of the Canon Law, lived in this monastery for many years and did much of his work here. The Benedictines departed before the close of the fifteenth century, and in 1510 Franciscan nuns took refuge in the vacant monastery, finding no peaceful security in their convent outside the walls during the wars which followed the fall of the Bentivoglio family.

In later centuries the church has been called by the name of its founder—S. Zama. Its use for religious services ceased when the buildings of the convent were converted for use as a military hospital in 1860. Now the little church is used as a storeplace for blankets and "biancheria di riserbo." It has five naves with columns supporting the vaulting, and at the east end three apses. The fine cloister cortile of the monastery with its beautiful trees serves as a garden in which the convalescent patients take their air and exercise. Those who would visit this spot, which was the first in Bologna dedicated to Christian worship, must obtain the permission of the Governor of the Hospital. The entrance is but a few steps distant from the line of the via Aurelio Saffi turning from it by the side of the church of S. Niccolo.

The Christian Church in Bologna had its

martyrs, whose names are still held in veneration. They suffered in the terrible persecutions under Diocletian and Maximian within the first five years of the fourth century. Vitale and his master Agricola were condemned together. Agricola belonged to a noble Bolognese family. He was crucified, and this is said by some writers to have been also the manner of Vitale's martyrdom, though others recount various tortures. Vitale and Agricola were reverently buried within the church, which still bears the name of Vitale. But their enemies—Jewish or pagan—would not let them rest even in death. They disinterred the bodies and secretly cast them into an unmarked corner of the Jewish burial ground. Thus their grave was unknown to those who reverenced their memory. But there were those who still remembered their courage and handed on the tradition of their martyrdom. Towards the close of the century a pious widow named Giuliana was inspired with a wish to discover the relics of these saints, and she went to take counsel with the Bishop Eusebius.

In the year A.D. 392 St Ambrose, the great Archbishop of Milan, had set out to visit various places to which the fame of his piety had brought him invitations. He came to Bologna in the course of his journeyings, and it was with his aid, some chroniclers state by means of a vision, that the bodies of SS. Vitale and Agricola were recovered. With them were found two marble tablets inscribed with their names, the basin containing

their blood, many nails, and the cross on which one or both had been crucified. Sª Giuliana caused two beautiful marble tombs to be made, and Sᵗ Ambrose, with his own hands, placed in them the bodies of the two saints. These tombs were in the little church founded by Sª Giuliana on part of the site now occupied by S. Stefano. It was given the name of the martyrs SS. Vitale and Agricola. And perhaps from this church comes the stone, sculptured with the figures of Christ between S. Vitale and S. Agricola, which is still to be seen above the door of the façade of S. Pietro in the S. Stefano group of churches. It is certainly primitive sculpture of a very early date. The widow Giuliana is still commemorated in Bologna. On February 7th, the anniversary festival, her little chapel in the aisle of the church of the Trinita is decorated. Behind the altar is the sarcophagus of the saint, and, besides the special services, worshippers visit the shrine throughout the day.

There were other Bolognese martyrs in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian. The best known is the saint and "Protettore" of the city —the soldier S. Procolo. We find him commemorated in Bolognese art, and an important church was dedicated to him.

The list of Bishops gives the name of S. Faustiniano as the second Bishop of Bologna. Some writers attribute to him the transfer of his episcopal seat to the new site on the other side of the city. But whether his building or the church built by

the widow Giuliana was the first beginning of this most interesting of Bolognese shrines, it is certain that S. Petronio greatly extended and rebuilt the church and made it his Cathedral.

Petronio is the eighth Bishop of Bologna whose name is clearly recorded. He belonged to a noble Greek family, and it is said that his sister was the wife of the Emperor Theodosius II. His father had held high office in the State. Petronio himself was a scholar and a traveller, and a Vatican Codex of the fourteenth or fifteenth century contains writings attributed to him. Petronio was in high favour with Theodosius II, Emperor of the East at the time when the Eastern Church was troubled with the Nestorian heresy. In a council of the chiefs of provinces it was decided to send a Legate to ask the advice of the Roman Pontiff—Celestino I. They were unanimous in proposing Petronio for the mission, and the Emperor consented. As the ship bearing Petronio neared its port on the west coast of Italy, the night before it arrived at the mouth of the Tiber the Pope had a vision. St. Peter appeared to him, and telling him that S. Felice, Bishop of Bologna, was dead, charged him to appoint none other as his successor in the See, than the messenger who was on his way to him from the Eastern Emperor—Petronio. When Petronio disembarked he found Bishops deputed to meet him and to conduct him with honour to the Lateran. Next day, when the Pope was sitting in Council in the Basilica, the ambassadors from

Bologna arrived and asked him to give them a new Pastor. Celestino told them of his vision, and they gladly welcomed and approved the appointment. Petronio, overcoming the reluctance of humility, submitted to the command of the Pope. He was speedily ordained, and set out with the Bolognese messengers for his new field of labour.

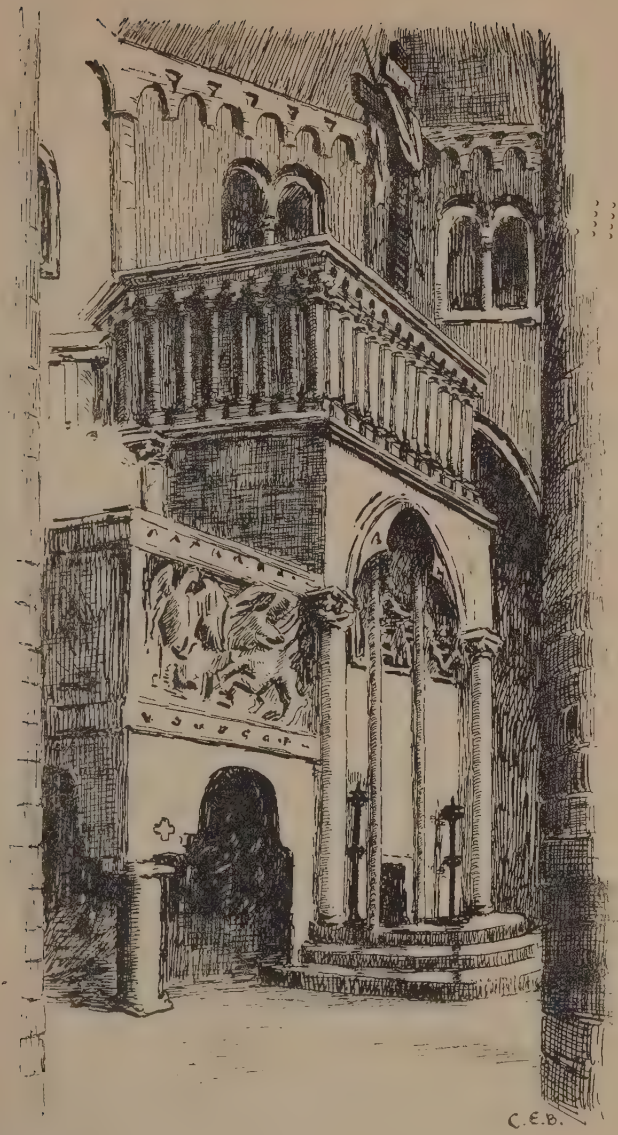
The fame of his piety and ability had preceded him, and as he approached his diocese the people came in crowds to meet him, and conducted him into the city with great rejoicing, singing hymns and praising God for giving them so good a Bishop.

Petronio found Bologna sadly reduced and devastated. Like many other cities of the Empire, it had suffered much from civil wars and the contentions of rival Emperors. There had been frequent barbaric incursions ; the terrible Alaric came again after the fall of Stilicho, and visited Bologna with fresh destruction, only some twenty years before the appointment of Petronio. The churches and other buildings were in ruins.

The new Bishop worked faithfully for the good of his people ; besides caring for their spiritual needs, he promoted their temporal prosperity. Soon after his appointment he made a journey to Constantinople to seek aid for his flock. The Emperor commanded that money should be given to him from certain provincial tributes to help in rebuilding the city. When he returned to Bologna he brought with him, besides money, precious relics which he had acquired in Constantinople, and at

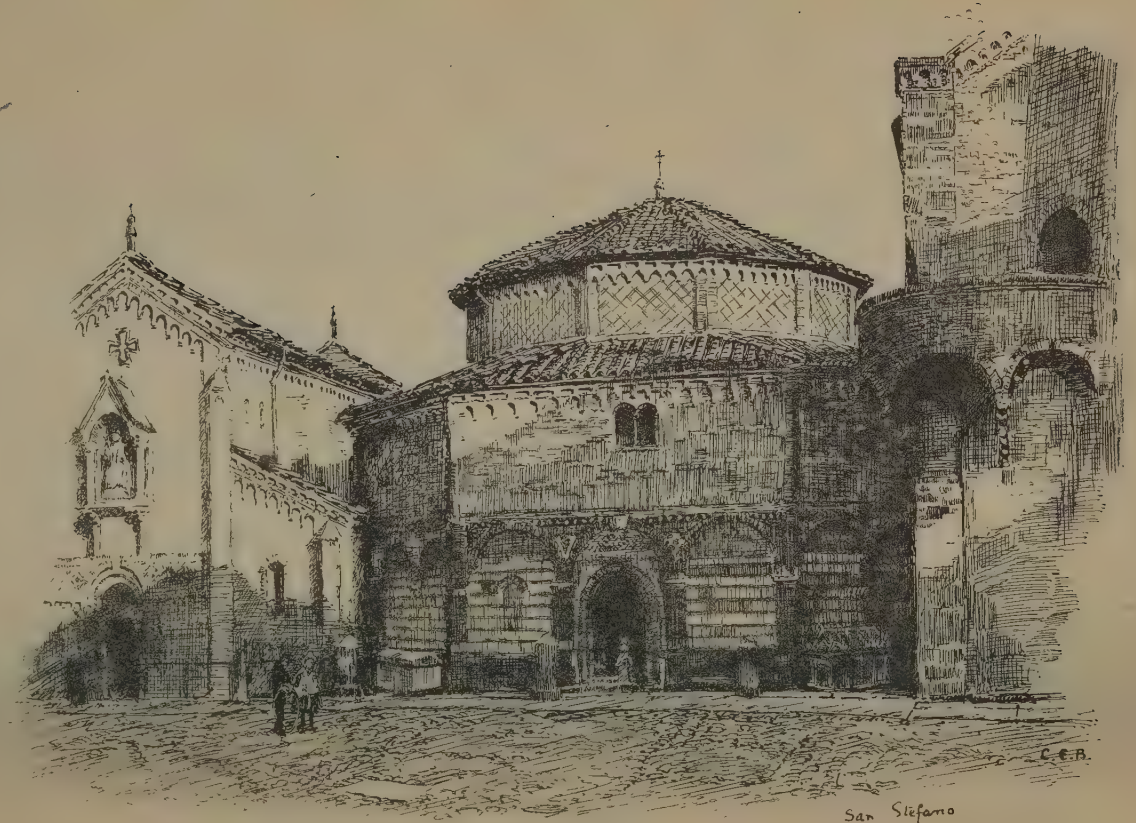
places in the Holy Land which he visited. It is this visit to Constantinople which gives some probability to the tradition that Theodosius conferred some privileges on students in Bologna, even if it is not admitted that an authentic original of the thirteenth century "Charter of Theodosius" ever existed. Petronio rebuilt his cathedral on the second cathedral site: it is the church which is now known as S. Pietro e Paolo in the S. Stefano group. It contained the tombs of S. Vitale and S. Agricola, and may possibly have continued to be known by their names for a time. Adjoining this the octagonal baptistery was built. It is said that Petronio erected in this a fine white marble tomb —a copy of the tomb of Christ at Jerusalem. From this the church took its name of S. Sepolcro. The sculptures with which the tomb is now adorned seem to be work of a later date than the time of S. Petronio. Another church built by S. Petronio is S. Giovanni Evangelista, and it is said that he made the hill on which it is built of earth and stones so as to represent the Mount of Olives. He built other churches, and there is a tradition that he enlarged the boundaries of the city and placed crosses to mark the sites of the four gates of the older circuit of walls. S. Petronio died in 449 or 450, having earned the gratitude and veneration of his people. He was buried in the church of S. Sepolcro within the tomb he had raised.

Of the second Duomo of Bologna as built by S. Petronio hardly anything now remains—at most



Pulpit Altar of
San Sepulcro
(San Stefano) Bologna

SAN SEPOLCRO, THE OLD BAPTISTERY. INTERIOR



San Stefano
Bologna

WEST DOOR OF THE CHURCH OF SS. PIETRO E PAOLO, THE OLD DUOMO

San Stefano group

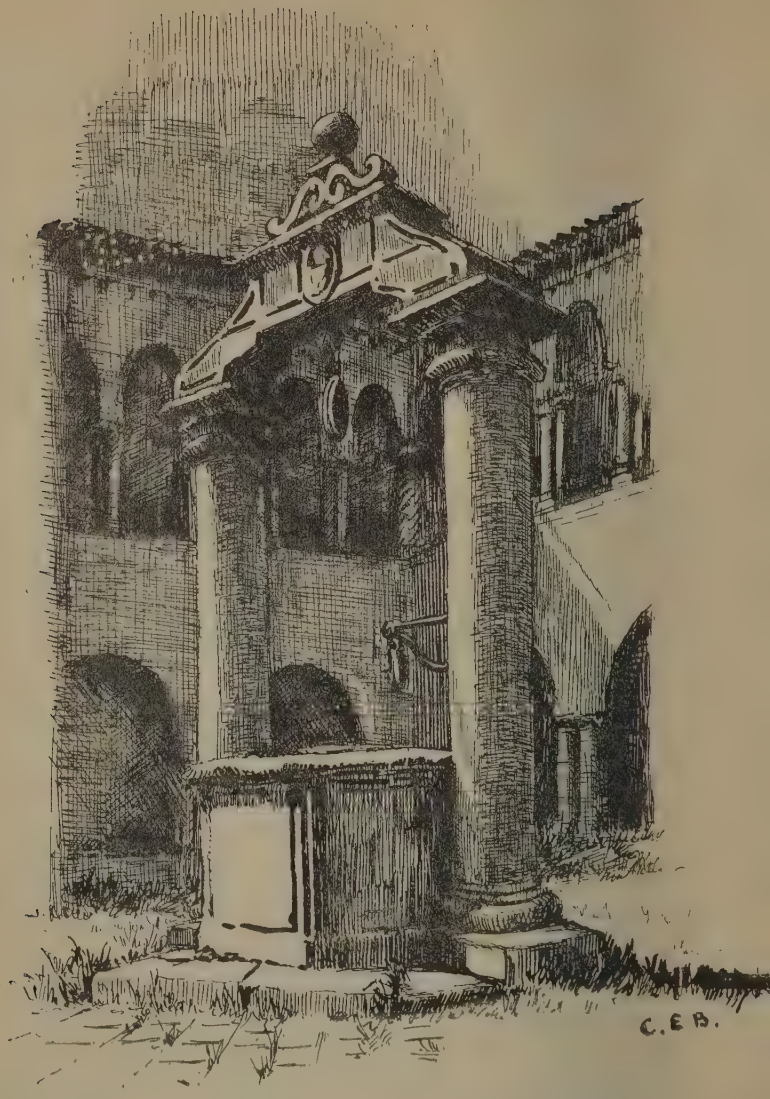
a few fragments used in later rebuildings. The church of SS. Pietro e Paolo as we now see it is the church as rebuilt in 1019 and finally restored in 1880–1885. The exterior needed at this latter date a very complete reconstruction, which was carried out carefully from the indications that remained of the older work. The interesting old bas-relief above the door in the west façade—Christ, with S. Vitale and S. Agricola on either side of him—is very early work: and but little later in character is the sculpture of the capitals of the shafts of both the west and the north doors. The latter has an architrave with the inscription of a Roman Caesar. Within the church the remains of the eleventh century work are more considerable, and have needed less complete restoration. There is a fine Ionic capital on the round pillar nearest to the altar on the south side. In the niches on either side of the apse, and facing the two aisles, are the empty tombs of the martyrs S. Vitale and S. Agricola: they seem like altars for the two chapels. From the character of the sculpture it is probable that these tombs date from the eighth or ninth century. At the other end of the church, on the north side, is a huge sarcophagus, of which only the cover is old. It is inscribed with the names of S. Zama, first Bishop, and Faustiniano, second Bishop of Bologna. It is the sarcophagus that was preserved for so many years in the church of the monastery of SS. Naborre and Felice. Beneath the cover there reposed the bones of the two Bishops until

their translation to the present Duomo by the Archbishop Paleotti. The empty sarcophagus was still carefully preserved at the monastery, and now, after a sojourn at the Campo Santo, it has been brought to the second Cathedral of the See. Around these two churches there arose others, forming a group of seven, collectively known as S. Stefano. In the Cortile di Pilato, besides interesting inscriptions, a few fragments of early fresco from the older church have been placed in the wall and covered with glass. The large marble vase in the centre of the cortile has given rise to much debate as to its original purpose. The inscription round it, in somewhat difficult characters, connects it with the Lombard King Luitprand and his nephew Ilprand, and the time of the Bishop Barbato. It has been suggested that it was used for the people to wash their hands before receiving the Sacrament. But there is no evidence in support of this. It is probable that Luitprand did much for the adjoining Duomo and Baptistery.

There are some finely carved Lombard capitals to the marble columns supporting the vaulting in the church of the Trinita. The vaulting itself is of later date—the thirteenth century. On the square columns are frescoed saints, remains of Bolognese fourteenth century art.

In the chapel of the relics is preserved the head of S. Floriano, and on the same side is the chapel dedicated to the widow Giuliana. The churches named the Consolazione and the Confessione or

CHURCH OF THE TRINITA. SAN STEFANO GROUP



Well in Cloisters

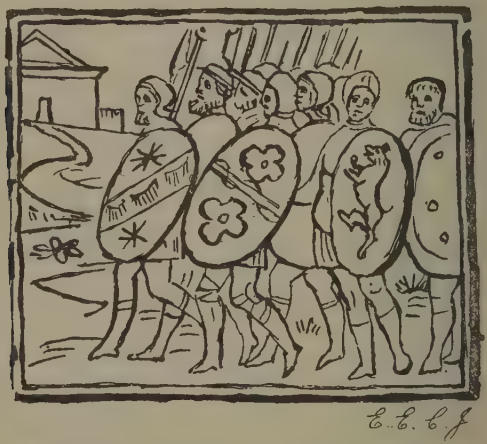
San Stefano . Bologna .

CLOISTERS OF SAN STEFANO

Cripta are less interesting. The church of the Crocifisso was reconstructed from two in 1637. To the right on entering by the west door is a picture of the Virgin with S. Biagio, the Bishop of Selute, and St John the Baptist, dating from 1400, but retouched in oil. The picture of the Crucifixion at the High Altar and that of the Bearing of the Cross on the wall of the choir (left) are of considerable interest; they are the work of a good artist, though his name is not recorded. In the Museo there is a fresco transferred to canvas evidently by the same hand. It represents scenes from the life of S. Stefano and of S. Petronio. The church also contains a Virgin and Child of the type of Lippo Dalmasio, but retouched. The picturesque cloisters were built in the eleventh century, and among the capitals of their slender shafts are many with very quaint carvings. A narrow staircase from these cloisters leads to the Museo, in which are collected several very interesting specimens of the early art of Bologna.

The sixteenth century chronicler of the Church of S. Stefano asserts that it was not for his cruelties at Thessalonica, but for his cruelties in the sack of Bologna that the Emperor Theodosius I incurred the condemnation of S. Ambrose. The Archbishop excommunicated him and refused to allow him to enter the Cathedral of Milan,—the ancient church now known as S. Ambrogio,—till he had done penance and made reparation. The account is thus given :—

The nephew of Theodosius had died on his way to Bologna, and the Emperor charged the Bolognese with causing his death. Theodosius came to Bologna and, having buried his relative, sent orders to his army to come and attack the Bolognese, putting all to fire and sword and sacking the city; in the words of the chronicler :—" saccheggio tutta



FACSIMILE OF WOODCUT IN THE "CRONICA DELLA MINISTERIOSA E DEVOTA CHIESA E BADIA DI S. STEFANO DI BOLOGNA"

la citta, buttando per terra fino a gli fondamenti gli ricchi, e suntuosi Palazzi, le belle e honorate Chiese, e le alti, e artificiosi Torri. Et ultimamente smantellorno tutta la Citta." ("Cronica della Ministeriosa e devota Chiesa e Badia di S. Stefano di Bologna 'Anticamente chiamata Gierusalem' 1575"). The chronicler adds that St Ambrose required the Emperor to have the record of his punishment inscribed in marble, and the tablet

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VIA BATTISASSO, WITH CAMPANILE OF THE DUOMO

built into the walls of Bologna, where it was placed on the east side. He mentions that the tablet was no longer to be seen at the time he was writing in 1575, but refers to the frequent destruction of the walls of the city to account for its disappearance.

Such is the story, in proof whereof see his picture of the hosts of Theodosius marching to attack Bologna.

In turning to the Duomo on the third cathedral site of Bologna, one cannot help regretting the loss of the fine old building that rivalled the beauties of the cathedrals of Modena and Ferrara. The west façade is indeed, as a native writer describes it, " gigantesca " in its proportions, and the marbles within the building are splendid. But this does not compensate for the loss of the graceful outlines, with the play of light and shade in the arcading, and the quaint carving of the details of which now nothing remains.

The Duomo by the Porta Ravegnana was ruined by the " Ungari " in 902. It was then decided to build a new Duomo on a site in a more protected position. The site was chosen more in the centre of the city, and the building begun in 910, Pietro being then Bishop; and he was the first to be buried in the new Duomo. This Duomo, together with the Episcopal Palace and a great part of the city, was destroyed by fire in 1131. In 1161 Bishop Gerardo began to rebuild it, and completed it (the chroniclers say) in four years. But it was not consecrated till 1184, in the time of Bishop

Giovanni, by the Pope, Lucius III, who was then in Bologna, passing from the Council of Verona. It was in the time of Bishop Giovanni (1165–1187) that the bones of the martyrs Vitale and Agricola were brought with great ceremony from S. Stefano, and placed in the Confessio of the new Cathedral. The Duomo was further beautified in the time of Enrico dalla Fratta. It was in need of restoration, having suffered in the severe earthquake of 1222. It was then that the Porta dei Leoni was designed and executed by the Bolognese sculptor Ventura. This magnificent door was on the south side of the Duomo, and was famed for its grace and fine sculptured work. The only remains of it now are the lions in red Verona marble, which are used within the Duomo as supports for the basins of holy water. A marble spiral column from the same door is in the garden cortile on the north side of the Archbishop's Palace.

Pope Gregory XIII raised the See to an Archbishopric in 1582, and on December 10th nominated Gabriele Paleotti the first Archbishop. He made a solemn entry, and was met by the Legate, the Magistrates, the Senate and all orders of the people. They presented him with a wonderfully worked silver cross. The " Cappella Maggiore " designed by Domenico Tibaldi was completed in 1582. Paleotti continued the decoration of his Duomo, and improved the Confessio. He died in 1597, and was succeeded by his relative, Archdeacon Alfonso Paleotti.

THE DUOMO FROM THE PIAZZA NETTUNO

The Archbishop Alfonso was also zealous for the embellishment of his church; but his zeal had unfortunate results from the point of view of those who value the architectural work of the preceding centuries. Under the advice of the architect Pietro Fiorini they began, in April, 1599, to move the columns that supported the vaulting, moving them one by one. This ill-advised plan, badly executed, resulted in the fall of the whole vaulting of the church. Fortunately no lives were lost. At the same hour the previous day the church had been crowded with magistrates, clergy and people. The roof was quickly restored by the offerings of the Canons. But Paleotti had the unfortunate idea of rebuilding, and making an entirely new church in the fashion of the architectural taste of the day. The design of P. Maestro Barnabita Gio Ambrogio Magenta was chosen. The fine old Duomo was pulled down, and the first stone of the new building was laid on the day of the Annunciation, 1605. There is a stone with an inscription and the name of the Archbishop in the foundation. The Capella of Tibaldi was to be preserved. In the lunette of the arch is "The Annunciation" by Lodovico Caracci. Of the original building, only the Lombard campanile remains, and in that much early work has survived frequent restorations.

CHAPTER XVI

SAN PETRONIO

Venite tutti Bolognesi cari,
Con ogni riverenza e divotione
Al sacro Tempio, e con veneratione,
Togliete l'Indugenze a i sacri Altari.

Pregando Dio, con la sua Madre santa,
E'l vostro Petronio benegno Padre,
Insiem' con San Stefan' e tutti i Santi.

Verses from "Cronica della Ministeriosa e devota Chiesa e Badia di S. Stefano."

IT was at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the cult of S. Petronio began to grow in prominence. He was already one of the "protettori" of the city. In 1301 the Senate made a decree that his "festa", October 4th, should be observed as the feast of Easter, and ordained the offerings in wax and money that civic dignitaries and the various orders of citizens should make in visiting the tomb of S. Petronio in the church of S. Stefano. Then the Cronaca Miscellanea tells us :—

"In the year 1307 S. Petronio, Protector of Bologna, began to work many miracles on the day of Pentecost, that is on May 4th, healing those

who suffered from various infirmities, that is deaf, blind, dumb, maimed and lame. Which miracles were worked with the water of the well which is beneath the altar of S. Petronio, with which the said infirm people washed their bodies. For these miracles there came many that were infirm from all parts of Italy, and before the end of the month of May 150 miracles had been wrought by Divine grace, there being present a very great number of men and women."

The public records of the city testify to belief in these miracles, for they show the kind provision made for the many sufferers who came crowding to Bologna to obtain the benefits of the water. They decree the erection of tents in the Piazza of S. Stefano to shelter the sick, and the provision of three baskets of bread and some wine at the expense of the Commune. Also the election of two "frate dello Spirito Santo," called Frati de' Vergognosi, who with four men from the Capella di S. Stefano were to help the infirm who were waiting for health "by the miracles of S. Petronio."

Thus gratitude to S. Petronio increased, and the Guelf faction took him for their special protector. Soon the figure of S. Petronio was impressed on some of the silver money coined in Bologna. And before the close of the century the devotion of the citizens led them to plan the erection of a magnificent church in honour of their Saint Protector. It had been spoken of earlier, but now it was seriously taken in hand. On October 28th,

1388, the Council of 600 decreed the commencement of the building for the following year. Besides many houses, eight churches were to be pulled down to provide space for the vast edifice. The troubles of the next year caused delay, so it was not till February, 1390, that Antonio di Vincenzo was chosen as architect for the church. The first stone of the great church was laid on June 7th in that year. It was placed by the hands of two Gonfalonieri del Popolo, "who were accompanied by the Signori Anziani, and by the Colleges, and by all the clergy of Bologna, and they rang the bells till the said stone was laid in the foundations." The west end of the nave with two chapels on each side was finished and covered in two years, and service was first celebrated in the Cappella di S[a] Maria de' Rusticani on October 4th, 1392.

The west end of the nave, with four chapels on each side, was ready to be covered with a temporary roof after eleven years' work, and service was first celebrated in the Bolognini Chapel in 1401. In 1425 the Archbishop of Arles, Governor of the city, invited Jacopo della Quercia to design and execute the marble decorations for the great west door. The artist came, but was negligent in the execution of his contract, having other works in hand; and when he died at Siena in October, 1438, the door was still not quite finished: the S. Petronio and S. Ambrogio on either side of the Madonna and Child were added in 1510 by Varignana. The Virgin and Child and the rest of

the sculpture (except the arch and perhaps part of the architrave) is Jacopo's work. There are half figures of prophets and patriarchs round one of the orders of the arch. On the outer piers are ten subjects from the Old Testament. These bas-reliefs are of simple design and vigorous execution, and show the master's hand. There are five subjects from the New Testament on the architrave, and there seems some doubt as to their attribution. Jacopo had undertaken to finish the door. But even if the designs for these were his, it is doubtful if they are his workmanship. There is not the same mastery in the modelling. The difference in workmanship is even more conspicuous in the prophets of the arch as compared with those of the piers on either side of the door. Those that Jacopo carved for the piers show life and vigorous action. Those on the arch are comparatively stiff. The figure of " Deo Padre " on the keystone of the arch was the work of Amico Aspertini. Many artists have worked on the sculptures of the two lesser doors, and much of the work cannot be identified with certainty.

On entering S. Petronio one is at once impressed by its vastness, but it is bare and cold. The decoration on the capitals of its huge pillars is stiff ; the lines of its fine pointed arches are meagre and wanting in depth. But only a part of the original magnificent design of the inhabitants of Bologna has been achieved. If the original plans of Antonio Vincenzo had been completed, the whole length of

the church would have measured 216.60 m., that is 36.60 m. longer than St Peter's at Rome. Only the nave has been finished, of the great transepts we only see externally the fragmentary beginnings, and the choir is represented by the make-shift "cappella maggiore." From time to time there have been schemes for the erection of the great dome, and numberless designs for the completion of the façade. But as yet only the lower part of the rough brickwork is covered with sculptured marble.

The first temporary "cappella maggiore" was built in 1401. But the great nave grew gradually towards the south, and in 1468 another temporary "cappella maggiore" was erected. It was still intended to carry out the original design of Antonio. Not till the erection of the Archiginnasio in 1562–3 did the Bolognese give up the hope of seeing the vast church completed. The Archiginnasio blocked part of the ground that would have been needed for the plan. So the magnificent design had to be laid aside as an unachieved ambition. The present "cappella maggiore" was built in 1659, and its vaulting being constructed, the vaulting of the nave also was at last completed. The tarsia stalls in the choir are the work of Agostino de' Marchi da Crema and his sons, 1468–1477.

There are many points of special interest inside the church. The first chapel on the left is dedicated to S^a^ Maria de' Rusticani. On its side walls are two curious symbolical representations of the

Crucifixion. That on the left shows the triumph of the Christian Faith. The Christian Church crowned is riding upon a lion, the lion symbolizing the four Evangelists, having one human foot, one lion's foot, one foot of an ox, and one of an eagle. On the other side of the cross is Heresy, blindfold and riding on a wounded goat : an arm from that side of the cross points a sword downwards over and beside her. Above the cross is a city with towers, and an arm from the top of the cross holds a key towards it to open the gates of Paradise. From the foot of the cross an arm stretches down to open the gates of Hell. On the right-hand wall Christ is crucified on a tree growing with leaves. It is the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and round it twines the serpent. Below on the right are Adam and Eve with a crowd of Old Testament Patriarchs ; on the left the Virgin, holding a chalice, and behind her characters of the New Testament and of the Church. These frescoes are by Giovanni da Modena. An inscription records that it was in this chapel that the Emperor Charles V robed himself in the sacred vestments for his coronation on March 25th, 1530. This record is not quite correct. Charles V was crowned as Emperor in S. Petronio on February 24th, 1530 : and the robing took place in the little temporary chapel erected outside the church on this side.

The next chapel shows some handsome marble, but its over-loaded " barocco " decoration is oppressive. The head of S. Petronio is preserved here

in the shrine of silver and lapis lazuli above the altar. The clergy of S. Stefano presented the head to the church which had been built in honour of the Saint in 1743, and it was placed in this chapel two years later.

The fourth chapel is called the Chapel of the Bolognini. Bartolomeo Bolognini, who died in 1408, left by his will money for the decoration of the walls of this chapel. There has been some controversy as to the name of the artist; but the best authorities are now agreed in ascribing the frescoes to Giovanni da Modena. On the left wall Heaven is represented with the coronation of the Virgin in the arch of the vault. The figure of God the Father is noble and dignified: around are the Cherubim and Seraphim.

Below are glorified saints ranged in rows. There is great variety and marked character in the faces and attitudes. Below Paradise comes the Inferno, arranged in divisions suggestive of the conceptions of Dante. The Archangel stands between Paradise and the Inferno. The various circles have their names inscribed as "Avaricia," "Superbia," "Gola" (gluttony), etc.

On the right wall are eight pictures of the story of the Magi. Unusual subjects in the series are the meeting with Herod outside the city; the three kings sitting waiting while Herod holds a council in an inner chamber; and the departure of the kings by ship: note the sea-birds on the shore. On the walls around the window are de-

picted incidents in the life of S. Petronio. High up, to the left of the window, we have the arrival of S. Petronio at the mouth of the Tiber and the Bishops and dignitaries who came to meet him. Above, in the arch of the vaulting, is the Pope enthroned conferring on Petronio the Bishopric of Bologna. Next below, to the right of the window, is the triumphal entry of Petronio and his welcome by the people of his diocese. We see the towers of Bologna.

The solitary figure of a sweet-looking woman in the next picture may represent S^{a} Giuliana, whom we know as connected with the building of the second Duomo. In the next picture S. Petronio is healing a sick man: in the background is the Porta S. Stefano.

Of the other pictures on the right of the window one shows us S. Petronio officiating before one of his crosses in its little chapel. The two lowest scenes of the series show the incidents :—S. Petronio acquiring the body of S. Floriano, which together with other relics of saints is being carried in a coffin, open above the face, to be placed in the ship for transport from the Holy Land to Italy; and the arrival of the same relics at Bologna. In the first scene Petronio is depicted in the act of paying the "3 mille moneta d'oro" which the ecclesiastical historian records that he gave for the bodies of S. Floriano and forty of his companions.

In the fifth chapel there is a "tempera" picture,

the "Martyrdom of S. Sebastian." The name of the artist is not known. But it is a fine picture, and the characteristics are certainly Ferrarese. The Annunciation, one figure on either side of this picture, is a very beautiful fresco. It is usually attributed to Lorenzo Costa, but no documentary evidence has been found on this point. The careful study of the design and execution of this fresco induce the belief that it is the work of Francia. And a comparison of this with the Duke of Mantua's "Annunciation" in the Brera at Milan strengthens that belief. The picture in the Brera is undoubtedly the work of Francesco Francia.

The twelve apostles round the chapel are by a pupil of Cossa's. The beautiful tarsia stalls are the work of Giacomo and the other sons of Agostino de' Marchi, of Crema, and are dated 1495. The most interesting tiles of the pavement are of Faentine majolica. There are numberless quaint designs, and the names of the artists and the date are shown on some of the tiles :—"Petrus Andreas, o Andree de Faventia, 1487."

In the seventh chapel there is a fine picture by Lorenzo Costa. It is signed and bears the date 1492. The Virgin and Child with St James, St Jerome, St Sebastian and St George. There is a wonderful, warm glow on the marble of the throne. The glory of angels in the lunette is very graceful. In the next chapel is the statue of S. Petronio which first stood in the Piazza Ravegnana : it was brought here in 1871.

ROLANDINO PASSEGGERI

PIETRO DA UNZOLA

Continuing the circuit round the church, in the fourth chapel on the right side are some beautiful tarsia stalls brought from S. Michele in Bosco. They are the work of Fr. Raffaello da Brescia. The delicate carving on the pilasters is beautiful as well as the tarsia work.

The St Jerome in the sixth chapel has characteristics of Cossa's work, and is probably by one of his pupils.

Number eight is the chapel of the Notaries. The fine "cancellata" is probably the work of Nicolo dall' Arca, 1483. The bas-relief portraits of Rolandino Passeggeri and of Petro da Unzola are full of strength and character: the first letters of their names are sculptured in the corners. Thus were commemorated the early dignitaries of the profession. The beautiful glass of the windows of 1466 is by Giac. da Ulma.[1]

The frescoed "polittico" in the next chapel, S. Ambrogio between two warrior saints, is Venetian in its characteristics.

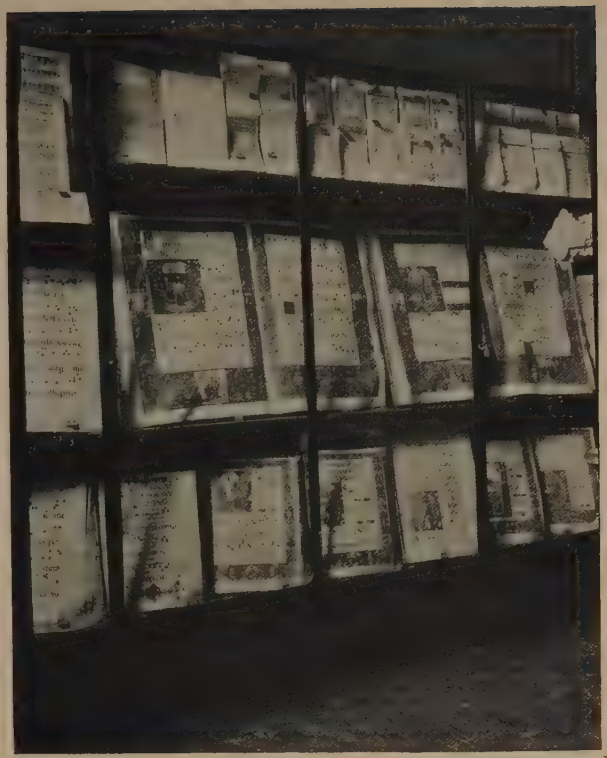
In the tenth chapel is a fine altar picture, "The Madonna, and many Saints." It has all the characteristics of a work by Marco Zoppo.

The last chapel on this side is the Cappella della Pace. It was the chapel of the "compagnia della Madonna della Pace." The origin of this society is thus described in the Chronicle of Ghiselli under the year 1653:—"and it was called 'della Pace' because its principal aim was to make peace between the citizens, and other persons to whom was annexed

the Office of Concord ordained in Bologna by Gregory XIII with his Bull of the year 1574: in which were comprised two Canons or other ecclesiastics, two Doctors, two Senators, two gentlemen, and two merchants, who being changed every year were nominated by the Pope, and had authority to compose every litigious difference which arose among the citizens, forbidding all to cite any in judgment before any tribunal whatsoever, unless first the reason had been well understood and licence obtained from this magistrature, which frequently settled many intricate differences. Anciently another magistrature, called "della Pace," was created by the Senate in 1271: of three persons, students and "of exemplary life to reconcile all the disagreements which arose between the citizens, and to preserve the universal peace of the city."

This aspect of Bolognese administration is interesting, and it is pleasing to hear of these honest efforts on the part of the rulers for the preservation of internal peace in one of the great Italian Communes. Historians mostly present them to us as the abodes of violent factions and civil strife both in their enactments and in the high-handed violence that defied all laws.

The "Immagine miracolosa della Pace" now preserved in this chapel was sculptured by Ferrabech, and was formerly in the wall outside the church. There is a legend of its first miracle. The soldier Scipione degli Cretimi having lost at



MINIATURED "CORALI"

CHURCH PLATE

MUSEO DI S. PETRONIO

A midday rest in Church
on market day

play, resented his misfortunes against the Madonna, and as he passed struck the image, breaking off a finger. He was tried for this sacrilege and condemned to death. By the intervention of the Madonna his life was spared, and henceforth Scipione became her most humble and devoted worshipper. That same year, 1405, the Madonna was placed inside the chapel, and the chronicle records Scipione's constant attendance at its altar. The effigy of Scipione is on the left wall of the chapel.

The four quaintly carved crosses on marble columns, placed two on each side of the nave, are the crosses that according to tradition were placed by S. Petronio to mark the boundaries at the gates of the ancient city walls, when he enlarged its borders to a wider circuit. A tablet on the wall records that the Cardinal Archbishop, Andreas Joannettus, " et curatores reg. Rhenanae," caused the crosses to be brought into the church in the year 1798. There are still special services and processions which include preaching beside each cross in turn.[2]

CHAPTER XVII

FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS AND THEIR CHURCHES IN BOLOGNA

Due principi ordinò in suo favore,
che quinci e quindi le fosser per guida.
L'un fu fatto serafico in ardore,
l'altro per sapienza in terra fue
di cherubica luce uno splendore.

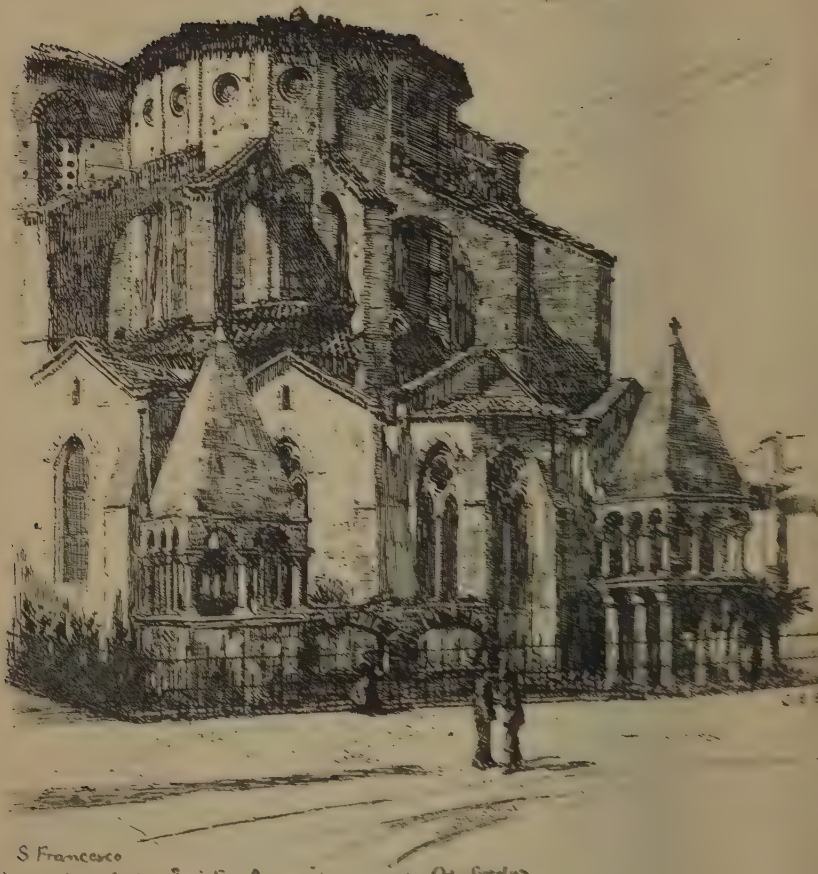
"Div. Com. Par.", Canto XI. l. 34–39.

THE founders of the two great orders whose preaching and work so deeply stirred the thoughts of Christians early in the thirteenth century were both well known in Bologna. A small community of Franciscans was established by Fra Bernardo da Quintavalle at the little church of S[a] M. Annunziata delle Pugliole at some distance outside the Porta Stiera in 1211. The story of his coming is told in the "Fioretti." It was in the early days of the foundation of the order that S. Francis sent Brother Bernard to Bologna, "so that there, according to the grace that God had given him, he might win fruit for the Lord." The ill-clad friar was at first received with scorn; the children mocked him, and even men joined in throwing dust and stones at him. A learned doctor

of law, seeing how patiently he bore all insults, came to him and asked him who he was, and why he had come. S. Bernard drew from his breast the Rule of St Francis and gave it to him. Having read it, the learned Jurist turned to his companions with " wonder and admiration," and said : " Truly this is the highest state of religion that I have ever heard of : and therefore this man and his companions are the most holy men in the world." He offered to give St Bernard a place where he could conveniently serve God, and he took him to his own home while it was being prepared. The writer of the Fioretti continues : " And Brother Bernard by his holy conversation began to be greatly honoured by the people, so much so that they considered themselves blessed if they could touch or see him. But he, as a humble disciple of Christ and of the humble St Francis, fearing that the honour of the world might hinder the peace and health of his soul, departed thence and returned to St Francis, and said thus to him : ' Father, the place is taken in the city of Bologna ; send brothers thither that they may keep it and stay there ; for I shall not make further gain there ; since for the too great honour done to me there, I fear to lose more than I should gain.'

St Francis himself was in Bologna for the second and last time in 1222. It was in the night of Christmas Eve that year that the terrible earthquake occurred which threw down the vaulting of the Duomo ; the shocks continued to occur for

fifteen days. A chronicler tells us that "when St Francis was preaching the earthquake returned, and the people crying out, he prayed and the earthquake ceased." It was in the great piazza that St Francis was preaching in front of the Palazzo del Comune. The opportunity was perhaps the greatest and most solemn in the life of the humble friar. There in the piazza were gathered, besides the enthusiastic populace, learned doctors and scholars from all parts of Europe. Tomaso da Spalatro was then at the Studio of Bologna, and was present in the piazza. In his work "de Regno dalmatico" he tells how the people were moved by the eloquence of this man "in poor clothes, insignificant in person and not beautiful in face," and how "the many learned persons showed their admiration for the preaching of this 'idiota' who seemed to them rather an orator than a preacher." St Francis spoke of three orders of reasoning spirits: "angels, men and demons," and he made a strong appeal to the citizens to cease from their enmities and to make peace. The exhortation was so moving that many noble families were reconciled. The scene is also described by the author of the Fioretti. "The piazza was quite crowded with men and women and students; St Francis rose up in the midst of the place above the crowd, and began to preach as the Holy Spirit taught him, and he preached so marvellously that it seemed that an angel rather than a man was speaking; and his celestial words



S Francesco
with tombs of the Jurists, Accursius and Odofredus.

SAN FRANCESCO

were as sharp arrows to pierce the hearts of those who heard, so that by this preaching a great multitude of men and women were converted to penitence." The writer adds that two noble students from the March of Ancona, Peregrino and Riccieri, at once enrolled themselves as brothers of St Francis.

It was not till 1236 that the friars began to build the fine church which still remains. In that year they acquired from the Commune land just outside the Porta Stiera (now called Porta Nuova), a situation more convenient than their first habitation. Though outside the walled city, it was within the circuit of the fosse and fortifications that had been made in 1205. Rubbiani says this church was the first of Cathedral type in good pointed style with three naves and an apsidal east end that the Friars Minor erected in Italy. The design is certainly nearer to the Gothic type of English and French architecture than most other churches in Italy. The great church at Assisi was begun eight years earlier, in 1228; but the Franciscan churches in other places were all at least a few years later. The name of the architect who designed the church is not known. The records show that Maestro Gio. da Brescia, "*inzignerio*" or architect, was in Bologna from 1231–1269; and chroniclers name an Andrea as "*maestro della ghiexia*," who was badly injured in the fall of the vaulting of the apse in 1254. But there is no proof that we owe to either the planning of the stately edifice.

The apse was first built, and there seems to have been a little delay after the transepts were erected. The façade was probably built about 1250, and the vaulting begun immediately afterwards. The high altar was consecrated by Innocent IV in 1250 on his return from France. The chroniclers note that the church was finished in 1263. The little campanile was built in 1261. The fine larger campanile with its graceful decorations was the work of Antonio di Vincenzo, the architect of S. Petronio. It was begun in 1397; the bells were placed in it in 1405, but the crowning frieze and "cappello" were never completed. Still it is one of the most beautiful campanile in Italy.

The beautifully fitted brickwork of the interior walls was covered with plaster and decorated in colours before the close of the thirteenth century. The pillars were tinted red on the brickwork, the vaulting was coloured with blue and gold. The pillars at the entrance of the apse and around it were coloured in alternate zones of black and white. In 1299 the choir was enclosed. The transverse screen was placed at the fifth pillar, and the screen was carried round enclosing the choir from the ambulatory. Vasari notes that Puccio Capanna, a pupil of Giotto's, painted on wood, "in Bologna in the screen of the church, the passion of Christ and the life of St Francis." It must have been for this Franciscan church that he worked. The beautiful marble "pala d'altare" was the work of the brothers Jacobello and Pier Paolo Dalle Masegne.

The contract for the work is dated 1388, but it was not completed till 1409.

The cemetery round the apse and the north side of the church was already in existence at the middle of the thirteenth century. One of the first tombs in it was that of the great glossator, Accursius, who died in 1260. The tomb of Odofredus was built in 1268, and that of Rolandino de' Romanzi in 1284. Besides the Legists and other doctors of the University, men eminent in politics, warriors, artists, and noble ladies were buried in the Franciscan church and cemetery. It was in the Franciscan cloisters that many of the Raibolini family were buried, though some also at S. Giacomo Maggiore.

The unity of design in S. Francesco suffered from the builders of chapels in the fifteenth century, and others were added in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the last years of the sixteenth century the Frati built the long portico which lined the Seliciata (now the Piazza Malpighi), with a grandiose arch at the entrance of the convent. This hid the tombs of the glossators as well as the apse, and in 1713 another church was built at the east end, which half devoured the tomb of Odofredus. The interior of the church had suffered too. In 1588 the ancient choir sanctuary was destroyed, the original altar of 1250 and the fine pala gave place to erections in "barocco" style. The "Partiti" of the convent tells how in 1670 the coloured glass was taken away to give

more light in the choir. The final spoliation of the church came when the Republicans sold its remaining marbles and pictures. Then in guide-books of Bologna from 1804 to 1820 the grand old building is only mentioned as one of the "piu vaste dogane d'Italia." The first efforts to restore the church to its sacred uses were made in 1840, and the "dogana" was then removed. Restorations were at once taken in hand. But the friars had again held their services for only twenty years, when by a decree of General Cialdini they were once more driven out, and the church was given up to the troops as barracks and storehouse. This was in the last war for the independence of Italy,—the war for Venice.

And now once more S. Francesco has been restored as a place of worship, though the friars who minister at its altars no longer inhabit the convent buildings, which have been turned to various secular uses. There are now only ten, having for dwelling, instead of the extensive convent adjoining the church, a house in the via de' Gombruti. In March, 1886, the Archbishop of Bologna assembled a "Commission for the re-opening of S. Francesco." Government and Municipio agreed to hand over the building to the Archbishop on condition that it should be re-opened for services within two years. The restorations have been carried on with the most conscientious care under the direction of the Cav. Alfonso Rubbiani. The traces of old work and original colouring have been

carefully studied, and where sufficient remains of decorative design could not be discovered, the gaps have been filled in from the study of other Franciscan churches. The chapel excrescences have been cleared away, preserving only the chapel of S. Bernardino with its fine terra-cotta decorations.

The bricks used in building S. Francesco were the yellowish bricks from many kilns among the hills which are characteristic of brickwork in Bologna in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The brickwork of redder tint became prevalent in the fourteenth century, and of these red bricks the campanile of Vincenzo is built. It was found necessary to revive an old kiln where the hills rise a little way out from the Porta S. Stefano, and another more distant one, in order to obtain the yellowish bricks for the restoration. The little chapels round the apse have been decorated as the gift of various families, "In memoriam." The central one is votive for "the peace of the nations." It has been rebuilt and decorated with the offerings of 80,000 subscribers; and it was opened in May, 1899, on the day of the opening of the International Peace Conference at the Hague. The painted crucifix above the altar is of the fourteenth century.

In the Cappella Santi the altar picture is by Pietro de Lianori (fifteenth century). It represents the Madonna, with St Jerome and S. Petronio, and half figures of saintly "protettori" of Bologna.

It has been given back to the church after being at the Pinacoteca for many years after the desecration of the church in 1804. Another fifteenth century picture is the Madonna enthroned with S. Francesco and S. Bonaventura in the chapel of S. Tommaso. The "pala" in maiolica in the style of the della Robbias,—St Francis receiving the stigmata, in the Cappella Calzoni, and the "arca" in imitation of fifteenth century faentine maiolica in the Cappella Spada are from the works of the brothers Arturo and Gennaro Minghetti. The artist who modelled the figures is a young Bolognese sculptor named Colombarini. The windows in these chapels have been designed after the careful study of the patterns of old glass, mostly by the artist Pasquinelli, and those in the Da-Via chapel by Augusto Sezanne. Most of them were executed in Innsbruck from the full-sized coloured cartoons made in the Fabbriceria at Bologna. The glass of the windows in the Santi chapel was made as well as designed in Bologna. A few fine monuments have been restored to the church, though some belonging to it are still at the Campo Santo, and some at the Museo Civico. The first restorations were of the tombs of the great glossators outside in the old cemetery. It was suggested that these should be restored in time for the University "Centenario" celebrations in 1888. But difficulties arose, and it was only with the help of Queen Margherita, after her visit to Bologna, that it became possible, Government agreeing to give the facilities. By

the close of the year 1890 what remained of the tombs of Accursius and Odofredus had been freed from the masonry which had enveloped them, and in November, 1891, the reconstruction was complete, except that it remained to add the "arca" to each tomb the next year. The portions missing were supplied from careful study of indications remaining, aided by sketches of the tombs which had been preserved; those of F. S. Rybisch, which were engraved in the sixteenth century, and those of Count Oretti made in the eighteenth century. For the "arca" of Odofredus an excellent impression of its original design was found in the stucco which had been used to fill in the space between it and the wall of the chapel built on to it. And before the end of 1892 the tomb of Rolandino de' Romanzi had also been restored in its place. The "arca" and the pillars, supported by lions, had been brought back from the Campo Santo. The two arches adjoining the tomb of Accursius are tomb niches; the remains of the wall that once surrounded the Franciscan cemetery.

Perhaps the finest of the tombs restored within S. Francesco is the one in the nave to the memory of Pope Alexander V. It is the work of Sperandio. The eighty fragments into which it was broken have been well fitted together. The tomb on the opposite side of the nave, which was sculptured by Francesco di Simone Ferrucci for Fiescho Protonotary Apostolic to Julius II, is of fine design and delicate workmanship. Fiescho died in Bologna.

After the dispersal of the monuments, this tomb was used at the Campo Santo for the interment of Periteo Malvezzi.

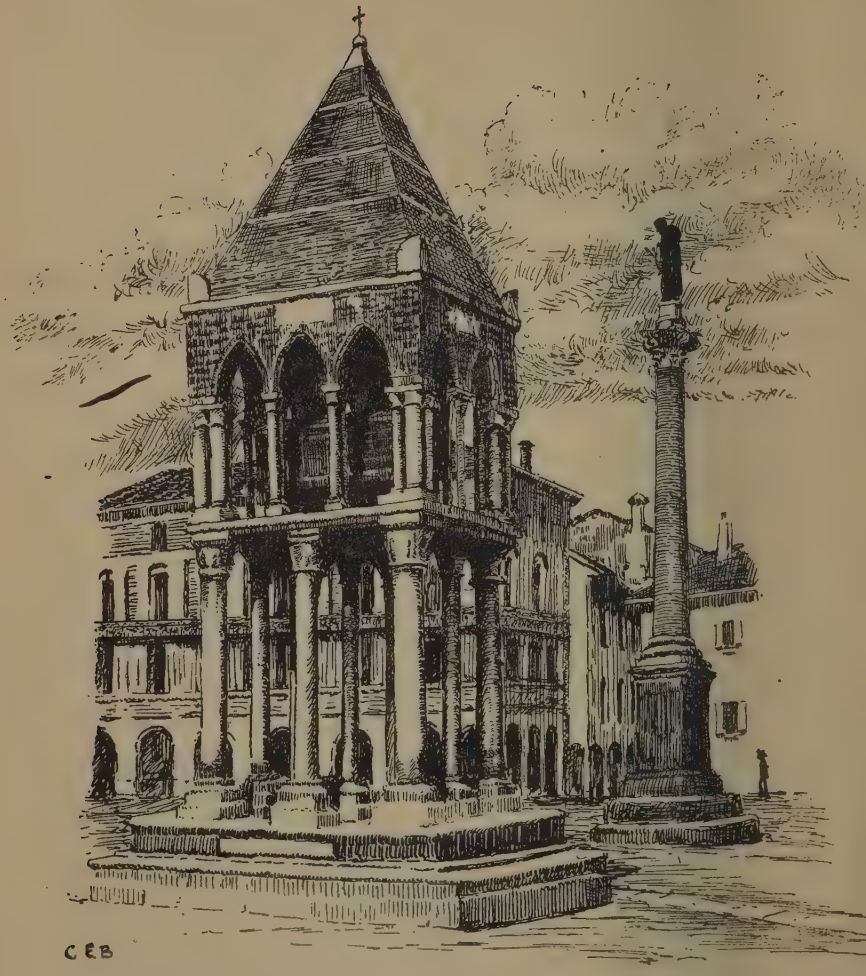
Another work of Francesco di Simone is the tomb of Vianesio Albergati, Protonotario Apostolico, in the Albergati chapel of the apse. It is a very beautiful piece of sculpture, and the decorative design is very graceful. Opposite to it is the tomb of another Vianesio Albergati, nearly 100 years later, the work of Lazaro Casario. Both these fine monuments have been brought back to S. Francesco from the Campo Santo, where they had found temporary safety after the troublous times which had devastated their rightful shrine.

The high altar has now been replaced on the pattern of the thirteenth century altar, and the " pala " is again supported behind it by the nineteen little columns and the two octagonal piers as prescribed in the original contract. The fragments of the " pala " had been stored under S. Petronio. The Madonna and Child is by Prudenzio Piccioli, sculptured in 1848 as one of the restorations of that time. A few other restorations have been needed, but they have been so carefully executed that the original design is preserved as perfectly as when it came first from the hands of the artists. And examining it closely we see how delicate their work was. It is the work of Jacobello and Pier Paolo dalle Masegne, Venetians. The design shows the influence of northern wood-carving in its Gothic pinnacles and niches.

S. Domenico.

S[t] Dominic was born in 1170 at Calaruega in Old Castile: he was thus twelve years older than S[t] Francis. Unlike S[t] Francis, he was from his early years destined for the service of the Church. Both his parents belonged to noble Spanish families, his father to the family of Guzman, his mother to that of Aza. When only six years old Dominic was entrusted to the care of his uncle, the saintly chief priest of Gumiel d'Izan, for his education. Later he worked diligently at the University of Palencia, and when he became a candidate for the priesthood he was already distinguished for his learning. He entered the Chapter of the Canons Regular of the Cathedral church of Osma, and before long became sub-Prior.

It was in Toulouse when, in 1203, Dominic first came in contact with the so-called "heresy" of the Albigenses, that he began to think of the possibility of founding a new Order, specially devoted to preaching to combat deviation from the accepted doctrines of the Church. But Dominic had journeyed much, and spent several years in preaching in the midst of the religious strife before the opportunity came for giving effect to his thought. It was when he was again in Toulouse in 1215 that two God-fearing citizens came to him and offered themselves as companions, one also offering his house for the use of the community. Of these and the four workers already attached to



Tomb of Rolandino
in the Piazza S. Domenico
Bologna

THE TOMB OF ROLANDINO PASSEGGERI

preaching influenced many, and generous offerings were made.

The number of the Brethren increased so rapidly that soon more space was required. At this time one of the supporters won by the preaching of Reginald was Rodolfo da Faenza, Rector of the church of S. Niccolo delle Vigne. He offered to give his church to the "Predicatori," and also himself joined the Order. The approval of the Bishop was secured. But it was necessary also to acquire the lay rights in the church and adjoining land which belonged to a wealthy citizen—Pietro di Lovello. His consent was obtained by the help of his niece, Diana d'Andalo, who had been induced, by the preaching of Reginald, to devote herself to a religious life. The contract was signed in March, 1219, and early in May, the work of reconstruction having been pressed on as quickly as possible, the "Predicatori" moved to their new convent. This was the beginning of the convent which grew to be a seminary of considerable importance in the Order. The extensive buildings still exist, adjoining the church of S. Domenico, but are turned to secular uses. Dominic soon came to visit this new house, and stayed for some time in Bologna, preaching and sending forth "frati" to found convents in other places: then he passed on to Florence and Rome.

The first Chapter of the Order was held in Bologna on May 16th, 1220. Dominic came from Rome by Viterbo, Siena, and Florence to preside

at this important gathering for the final establishment of the Statutes of the Order. After a journey to Milan and other places Dominic was again in Bologna from August to December, preaching in the churches, and often in the piazzas by reason of the great crowds that came to hear him.

The second General Chapter of the Order was appointed to be held also in Bologna; Dominic returned for it from his last stay in Rome, having visited many places in his journeyings. The Chapter was held on the day of Pentecost, May 30th, 1221. The indefatigable preacher made one more missionary journey as far as Venice, visiting also Verona, Padua, and other places. He then returned to Bologna, where he had already spoken of his conviction that his life was drawing to a close. Weak and ill, the doctors advised that he should be taken to the fresher air on one of the hills just outside the city, by the church of S^{a} Maria del Monte. Here the Brethren came frequently to visit him. But Dominic discovered that the Rector of the church had determined not to allow his body to be removed to any other place for burial if he died in his house. Dominic's wish was to be buried where the feet of his Brethren would continually pass over him. He therefore insisted on being carried back to S. Nicolo delle Vigne, and was placed in the little cell of Fra Moneta. He sent for the Prior—Fra Ventura,—asked for his prayers, and made his last confession. Here, surrounded by his Brethren, the saint passed away on August 6th, 1221.

Contemporary writers sketch the portrait of St Domenic in words thus: "He was of medium stature, of equal size and agility; he had long hands, a beautiful face, pink colouring, and light-coloured hair and beard. His voice was pleasing and sonorous. On his face and brow there appeared an air of serenity, and a certain something of splendour, that won for him veneration and love." Towards the end of his life he had begun to become somewhat bald. Melloni adds: "More precious, however, is the portrait which these same writers have left of his spirit; but in shadow one might say, and as a painter would do, who tried to express in painting the strength and beauty of the Sun. Of this portrait, or rather sketch, many lines are seen, dispersed here and there in the course of his life." There are two painted portraits of St Dominic at Bologna—one in the sacristy of S. Domenico, one in S. Maria della Mascarella: there was formerly another portrait in the church of S^{a} Maria della Vita; but it was removed long since, and the portrait of the Dominican Fra Giacinto was substituted for it.

The type of the "arca" may be taken as a true portrait, for it is quite possible that Nicola Pisano saw St Dominic in Rome in his youth.

The first tomb was humble, in accordance with the wishes of the saint. It was at the entrance of the choir, behind the high altar, and in front of the altar in that choir. But the fame of miraculous cures at the tomb spread quickly, and votive offer-

ings multiplied. Also the number of the Brethren increased, and it became necessary to enlarge the choir. At last, in 1233, the Brethren consented to the erection of a new tomb, and there was a solemn translation in the presence of the Archbishop of Ravenna, many bishops, the chief dignitaries of the Order, many nobles, numbers of clergy, students and people of Bologna.

It was in the Chapter General held in Bologna in 1262 that the idea of a new and more splendid monument was first suggested. Collections for the purpose were made in all the provinces, and soon the work was begun in 1265. Giovanni di Vercelli was then the new Maestro Generale of the Order, and was as zealous as his predecessor Umberto in the promotion of the scheme for honouring the memory of their Founder. The artist to whom the work was entrusted was Nicola Pisano, the great sculptor whose genius was giving a new impulse to art. The only documentary evidence we have is found in the annals of the Convent of St. Catherine at Pisa. There are two entries: one ascribes the work to "magistri Nichole de Pisis," the other names Fra Guglielmo with Nicola. Some authorities give Fra Guglielmo credit for the whole work. But these entries support the continuous tradition that the design was Nicola's, and the work his with the help of Fra Guglielmo and other pupils. There is considerable difference in the quality of the work in the various subjects; the two first panels are of much

finer design and more delicate execution than the others, and from critical study of the work may be recognized as Nicola's own. The original design was for the " arca " with its sculptured sides, supported by twelve columns with angels. It was similar to the " arca " of S. Peter Martyr, executed by Balduccio da Pisa in 1339 for the church of S. Eustorgio in Milan. The " arca " of S. Domenico was sculptured in less than two years. Nicola only came to Bologna in 1265, and he was in Pisa at the end of September, 1266, and on the 29th of that month signed a contract engaging, with the help of Fra Melano, to finish the pulpit of Siena within a year. He left Fra Guglielmo at Bologna, and the Dominican sculptor was present at the great ceremony of the translation on June 5th, 1267.

In course of time a special chapel was built for the tomb. The first stone of this fine Gothic edifice was laid in 1377, but it was not completed till 1413. It was, however, sufficiently advanced for the tomb to be transferred to it in 1411. In its new and more conspicuous position it was thought that the simple " arca " of Nicola's design needed magnifying to a more grandiose erection. At first a " cimasa " in carved wood was used, but in 1469 Nicola da Bari was commissioned to design and sculpture a " cimasa " in Carrara marble. The " cimasa " was finished and placed within four years, but without all the statuettes of evangelists and saints. The rest of these were added gradually. Nicola had completed the four Evangelists—

S. Francis, S. Dominic, S. Floriano, S. Agricola, and S. Vitale—when on March 2nd, 1494, he died. Fortunately in this same year the young Michelangelo arrived in Bologna, and to him was entrusted the execution of the statues still wanting for the completion of the monument. Of these Michelangelo sculptured S. Petronio, S. Procolo, and the angel below on the Epistle side of the altar. The remaining statue of S. John the Baptist was executed by Coltellini. This and the predella were still wanting when Michelangelo left Bologna. It was not till 1532 that an artist was found to undertake the predella, which was then entrusted to Alfonso Lombardi. The subjects are: in the centre "the Adoration of the Magi"; to the left, the birth, the infancy, and the youth of S. Dominic; and to the right, the glorification of the Saint in Heaven.

The subjects of the "arca" sculptured by the Pisan masters are :—

1. The restoration to life of the young Napoleon Orsini.
2. The book preserved in the flames which consumed the books of the heretic Albigenses.
3. The bread served by angels, as a miracle of St Dominic.
4. The vocation of the blessed Reginald.
5. The vision of Innocent III, and the confirmation of the Rule.
6. The appearance of St Peter and St Paul to Dominic and the sending forth of the "frati."

The grace and beauty of the two end panels (3 and 6) mark them as the work of Nicola himself, like the two front ones. The Madonna and Child between these two front panels is also a very beautiful work by Nicola's own hand.

The changed taste in architecture led to the design of a new chapel in honour of St Dominic in the last years of the sixteenth century. Instead of a building parallel to the main church, as the Gothic one had been, the altar of the new chapel was placed in transverse position. The chapel, however, occupied part of the same site. The first stone was laid on April 1st, 1597, and the masonry of the building was completed early in 1605. The "arca" had been moved to its new position the year before. Guido Reni painted one of his finest frescoes in the tribune of the apse between 1513 and 1515. It represents the reception of St Dominic in Heaven by our Saviour and His Mother. There is a simple dignity in the figure of the Saviour. The paintings in the cupola had been executed by Francesco Lucio and Alessandro Albini in 1605. The four "protettori" of Bologna in the pendentives were the work of Donducci in 1516. He also executed the softly coloured little frescoes in the arches, symbolizing Obedience, Justice, Wisdom, Hope, etc. The picture on the right wall on entering the chapel, "The Infant Restored to Life," is by Alessandro Tiarini; the one opposite, "The Book of St Dominic Saved from the Fire," is by Leonello Spada. The chapel is adorned with fine

marbles; there is a good deal of gilding, but the whole is well harmonized with the frescoes, and the effect is rich without gaudiness. The lamps are very handsome, and the chapel shows the continuous care of the followers of St Dominic. The altar is the work of Petronio Fancelli. The Bolognese Carlo Bianconi designed the bas-relief representing the burial of St Dominic. It was sculptured in 1773 by Jean-Baptiste Boudard, Direttore of the Institute of Sculpture at Parma.

The church itself has undergone many changes. The church of S. Niccolo delle Vigne, which was made over to the Dominicans in 1219, was at once either rebuilt or greatly enlarged. The evidence seems to favour the opinion that it was practically rebuilt. This church of the Brethren was "a tre navate," with pointed arches and vaulting. There had been many changes in the body of the church, besides the addition of several chapels, when in the early part of the eighteenth century the task of restoring and reconstructing it was entrusted to Francesco Dotti. The Gothic choir had already been replaced in 1625. Dotti completed his work in 1729, and had at least attained the uniformity at which he aimed.

The stalls of the choir are very fine intarsia, the work of Fra Damiano da Bergamo. The frate came to Bologna in 1528 and entered the convent as a lay brother. He very soon made good progress with his work, and it was greatly admired when Charles V was in Bologna for his coronation in

1529, and the early months of 1530. The story is told that the Emperor, wishing to see how the wonderful work was done, went to the convent, taking with him Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and other princes. He knocked at the door of Fra Damiano's cell, which was opened but quickly closed as soon as the Emperor had entered. "Stay," said Charles, "that is the Duke of Ferrara who follows me." "I know him," said the frate, "and he shall never enter my cell." Enquiring the cause of Fra Damiano's displeasure, the angry artist explained that when coming from Bergamo to Bologna to undertake the work he had passed within the borders of Ferrarese territory. "I had only these few tools with me," said the frate, "but they made me pay a heavy and unjust tax, and were also most uncivil in their manner of enforcing it." Going out of the cell Charles told the Duke of the grievance. Alfonso at once promised to repay the money to the poor friar, and gave him a patent which made him and his pupils in future free from any tax or duty when passing through the duchy of Ferrara. After this the whole party were made welcome in the cell.

The panels at the east end of the choir and the small subjects below show some of the finest work. There are seven compartments, and in one is Fra Damiano's name, and the date 1530 is inscribed in a little piece of architectural design. These panels were the specimen work that gained for Fra Damiano the commission for the whole. The stalls on

the south side have subjects from the Old Testament, those on the north side subjects from the New Testament. The latter are the finer in design and workmanship. There are also some very fine panels in the cupboards of the sacristy. These "specchi" are all that remains of the work which Fra Damiano executed for the Gothic chapel of S. Domenico. His name is in one of the panels. Perhaps the doors of the sacristy, with the Annunciation, show the best preserved specimens of the finest of Fra Damiano's work.

The most important of the other treasures of S. Domenico are: the tomb of Taddeo Pepoli in a chapel of the north transept. Close to it is the monument of "Il rè Enzo"; and opposite this a fresco portrait of S. Thomas Aquinas. By the north door is the finely sculptured tomb of Alessandro Tartagni, a distinguished legal doctor. It is the work of Francesco di Simone. In the first chapel on the south side of the nave is the "Madonna del Velluto," one of the best remaining pictures of the Madonna and Child painted by Lippo Dalmasio. Above the altar in a little chapel between the choir and the entrance to the sacristy is a picture by Filippino Lippi, "The Marriage of S. Catherine."

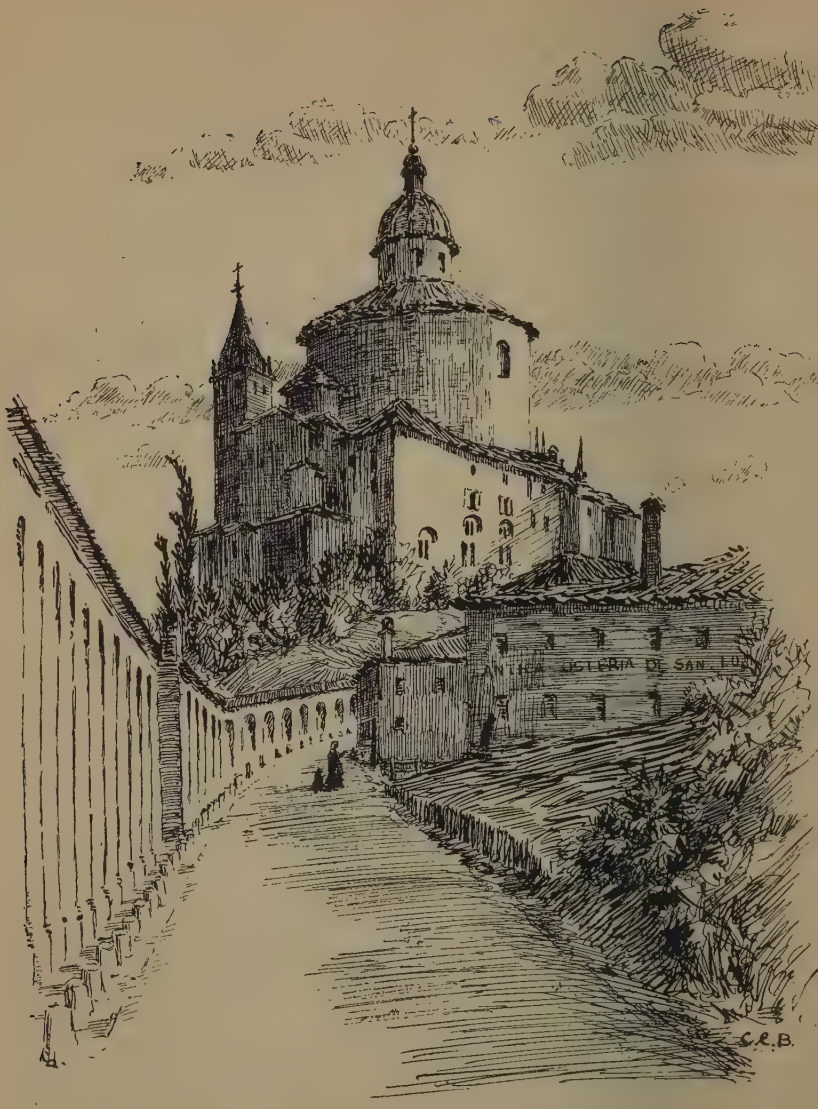
The monument of Taddeo Pepoli in its present form is a work of the first half of the sixteenth century. The only question is whether the figure sculptures of the two sides of the "arca" may have formed part of an earlier tomb. The will of

Count Guido Pepoli, dated June 5th, 1505, bequeaths money and provides for restoration work in the chapels of the Pepoli family in S. Domenico. It also provides for the erection of the monument in honour of Count Guido's famous ancestor, in the family chapel. It prescribes the use, in this erection, of the marbles then existing "in certa mansione" of the Dominican convent. The will does not state whether these marbles were already sculptured. Thus, since documentary evidence fails us, we can only depend on critical examination of the sculptures for determining whether they are the work of an early sculptor, or of a sixteenth century artist imitating the archaic style in the simple grouping of the figures, and the stiff lines of the draperies. It has been stated that they were the work of Jacopo Lanfrani in 1337. But that is ten years before the death of Taddeo Pepoli, and there seems to be no evidence in support of the assertion. Still, from the evidence of workmanship, it seems reasonable to consider these reliefs fourteenth century work.

The convent with its fine cloister "cortile" is now used as barracks, and the twenty Dominicans who serve the church are lodged in a less spacious dwelling. The "primo chiostro" is the drilling ground and playground of the elementary schools that now occupy part of the convent site.

A chronicler's anecdote illustrates the reverent care with which the Dominicans have always regarded the tomb of their Founder. Fra Lodovico

da Prelormo writes in his " Memorie " : " In 1572, on August 4th, when the brethren were dining, I, fra Ludovico, having been for the space of 45 years Archista, and aged about 80 years, and very weak, and therefore no longer being able to bear the fatigues which this holy office of the ' arca ' required ; our prelates plainly seeing this, gave me a lay brother, fra Peregrino, of Bologna, who should take the fatigues and attend to the said ' arca.' And the said fra Peregrino, to whom I had often observed : ' Be careful, my son, be careful of those saints,' being arrived the eve of the festa and solemnity of our Father San Domenico ; and he being with a ladder behind the ' arca ' to dust it, the poor lay brother unintentionally gave with the said ladder such a blow to the figure of San Procolo that he broke it, and falling upon the pavement it was broken in many pieces. I ran, and seeing the desperate case, could have died ; and if God, and S. Dominic and our reverend fathers had not sustained me, I hold it certain that I should have died, so great was the sudden sorrow of my heart." [1] A later entry tells how the Fathers and many masters skilled in art came to comfort Fra Lodovico. The fragments were carefully gathered up, and entrusted to Maestro Vincentio, the sculptor, to put together. Fra Lodovico tells us he was paid ten lire for the work, and adds " he deserved ten ducats." So the little statue was replaced as we see it now.



La Madonna di San Luca
Bologna

THE MADONNA DI SAN LUCA

CHAPTER XVIII

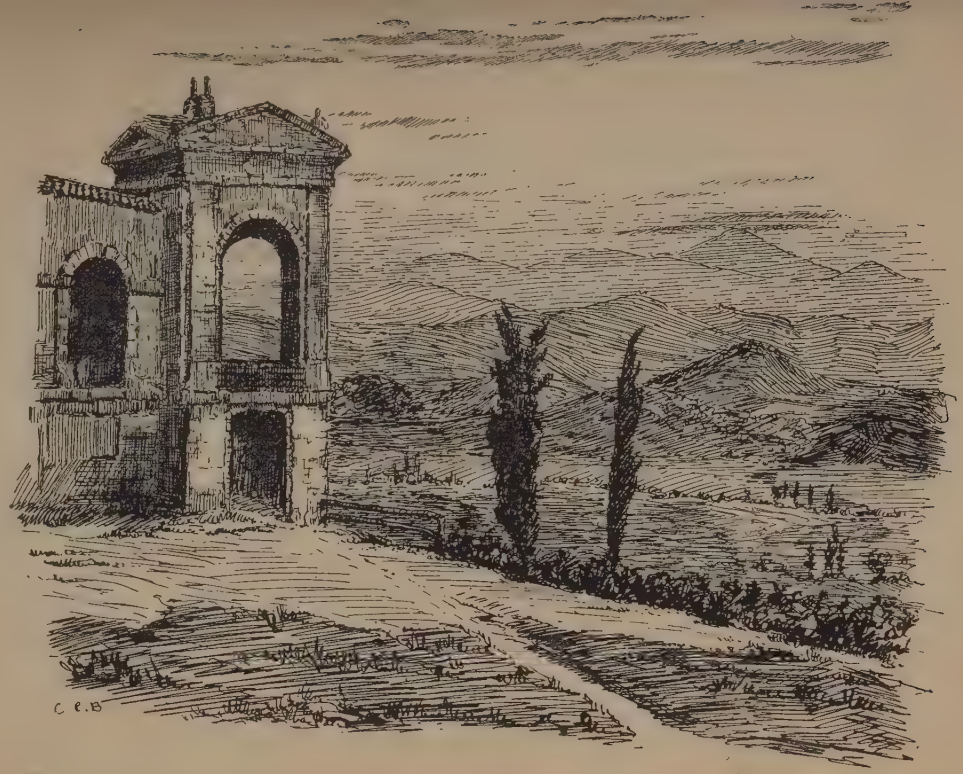
THE MADONNA DI SAN LUCA

Eletta parte d'Appennin frondoso
Il passeggier che vien d'estranio lito
Ti scerne di lontan.

WHETHER we approach Bologna by the line from Milan or come to it through the Apennines from Florence and the south, the Monte della Guardia, crowned by the sanctuary of the Madonna di S. Luca, is the landmark in the immediate surroundings of the city most likely to attract the traveller's attention. The story of the shrine will deepen the interest thus awakened, and a climb to the height will be rewarded by a mountain scene of almost indescribable charm. Let the pilgrim choose a day when the atmosphere is clear, and enjoy the sunset hour on the summit of the mount. For the lower part of the way he may take the somewhat stony road outside the arcades, or the smoother flag-paved path within, as seems best to him. But let him be careful to make the last stage of the way by the steps within the arcades. The lovely mountain vista will then burst upon him with quite unique impressiveness. The peacefulness of the scene in the soft brightness of the sunset light will be a memory for ever.

The name of the mount—Monte della Guardia—comes from the early days of the Commune, and its early contests with the neighbouring Modena. Modena having suffered reverses made league with Parma and Reggio, and the Bolognese for their defence established a constant guard on the outpost mount. A chronicler adds: "Upon which (by will of the Divine Providence) there should be placed the image of the Virgin . . . as protectress and spiritual guardian of the same city."

The origin of the monastery on this mount dates from the year 1087. It was then that a Bolognese maiden named Angiola, despising the riches and pleasures of the world, secretly left her home and with her own hands made for herself a little hut on the summit of the mount. Here she gave herself up to prayer and devout meditation. Her father and relations sought her with much solicitude, and having found her, tried to persuade her to return to her home. The maiden argued with so much skill in favour of her life of religious devotion that her father consented to leave her, and returning to his house sent another maiden to share her solitary retreat. The numbers of the sisterhood had already increased when Angiola died in 1145. They were called the sisters of St Luke, and a church was built. This church was to be the first home of the picture of the Madonna which is still so greatly venerated in Bologna and in all the country round. Tradition tells how this picture was hanging on the wall in the church of



VIEW OF APENNINES FROM THE CHURCH OF THE MADONNA DI SAN LUCA

Sta Sofia in Constantinople. Below it was this writing—"This picture, painted by the hand of St Luke, ought to be taken to the church of St Luke on the Monte della Guardia." A hermit named Teocle Kumnia, seeing this by chance, was moved to desire to seek this mount. The good man inspired the priests of Sta Sofia with so much confidence, that they gladly entrusted him with the Madonna. He speedily set out, carrying the picture on his shoulders, carefully covered with a veil. He journeyed to very many places, everywhere asking in vain for this Monte della Guardia. At last he decided that he would go to Rome, determined, if he could not find the mount, that he would place the Madonna in St Peter's in that city. It chanced that at that time a noble Bolognese named Pascipovero dei Pascipoveri was a Senator in Rome. He saw the hermit carrying the burden on his shoulders and passing the Senate House. He sent for him and asked what treasure it was that he carried so carefully covered. The hermit told his story and how he was beginning to fear that he would never find that Monte della Guardia. The Senator listened with great interest and joyous surprise. He took the hermit to dine with him in his house, promising afterwards to tell him where that mount would be found. After dinner, with his friends assembled, Pascipovero said to the hermit, "The Monte della Guardia that you have travelled so far to seek is near to Bologna, the city which is my home and in which my family are

living." He offered to send a servant with the hermit to show him the way, and to supply horses for the journey. The hermit gratefully accepted the offer, and set out on the journey. Pascipovero also gave him letters to the Podestà and city magistrates to explain to them the reason of his coming. It was ordained that there should be solemn processions in Bologna with psalms and singing of hymns by the clergy and the people, and the carrying of many lighted candles. On the third day there was a great procession, in which the Senate also took part, up to the mount, and there the sacred image was confided to the care of sister Angelica, and was placed above the altar in the little church of St Luca. The hermit refused all invitations and the offer to provide a suitable habitation for him near to Bologna, preferring to return to his distant hermitage now that he had fulfilled the duty entrusted to him. Soon a larger church was built on the mount, and the name of S^{a} Maria della Guardia was given to it. There is in the archiepiscopal archives an ancient document drawn up by the ecclesiastical notary recording the event of the placing of the venerated picture in the little convent church. It took place in the year 1160. It is recorded that Rambertino Guezi (the father of Azzolina and Beatrice Guezi of the Sisters of St Luke), who died in 1165, left by will a sum of money for the expenses of candles kept burning "ante imaginem Beatae Mariae miracules constantinopolitanae." The picture is still held in

the highest veneration. All functions connected with it draw immense crowds of worshippers from all the country round, as well as from among the inhabitants of the city itself.[1] The Madonna has been considered as the special protectress of the city, and the citizens have constantly turned to ask her aid in times of trouble. In the year 1433 there was a terrible plague of rain. For three months the rain descended without ceasing. The corn and all kinds of grain became rotten, and the people were threatened with famine. In their distress, one of the Anziani proposed that they should have recourse to the Madonna on the mount. With the consent of the Bishop, Nicolo Albergati, it was arranged that there should be a solemn "triduo" with processions. The Sisters of St Luke had another convent outside the Porta Saragozza, where now is the church of S. Giuseppe. And having felt insecurity in times of political disturbance, they had also built a convent within the walls of the city. This was S. Mattia, close to the church of S. Isaia. On Saturday, July 4th, 1433, the Governors and many members of the confraternity "della Morte," climbed the hill, as the chronicler tells, "con lagrime, e devotione," regardless of mud and rain. They brought down the sacred picture adorned with rich draperies, and attended by many torches, and placed it for that night in the church of the convent outside the walls, near the Porta Saragozza. Next morning there assembled at the Porta Saragozza all the clergy and

people of Bologna. There was the Governor—Marco Condulmero—the Gonfalonieri di giustizia, the Anziani, and almost all the nobility. At the gate they received the sacred image with great reverence. Then, in the words of the ecclesiastical chronicler: "As the sun suddenly rising in the east puts to flight the clouds and chases the darkness, so at its entrance, the glorious Image being carried and accompanied by songs, prayers, vows and tears, there arose a strong wind, which drove away the darkness and obscurity of the air: and the further the procession advanced into the city the further fled the clouds heavy with rain; there appeared a clear heaven and calm air, and the sun's rays shone so brilliantly around that image, that, by reflection, it seemed as if it too had risen from the horizon, in such manner that all who looked on it were dazzled." After the procession the picture was placed in the church of S. Mattia. The procession was repeated the next day, and after it and through the night the picture remained in the church of the Ospedale della Morte. After the third procession through the town the Madonna was taken with solemn ceremony back to the church on the Monte della Guardia.

This was the beginning of the processions of the Madonna di S. Luca. In grateful remembrance of relief from the fear of famine, it was decreed by the Senate that each year the Madonna should be brought to the city and carried in three solemn processions, beginning on the first Sunday in July.

THE PROCESSION OF THE MADONNA DI SAN LUCA

From the insignia of the Anziani

See chap. xviii., note (1)

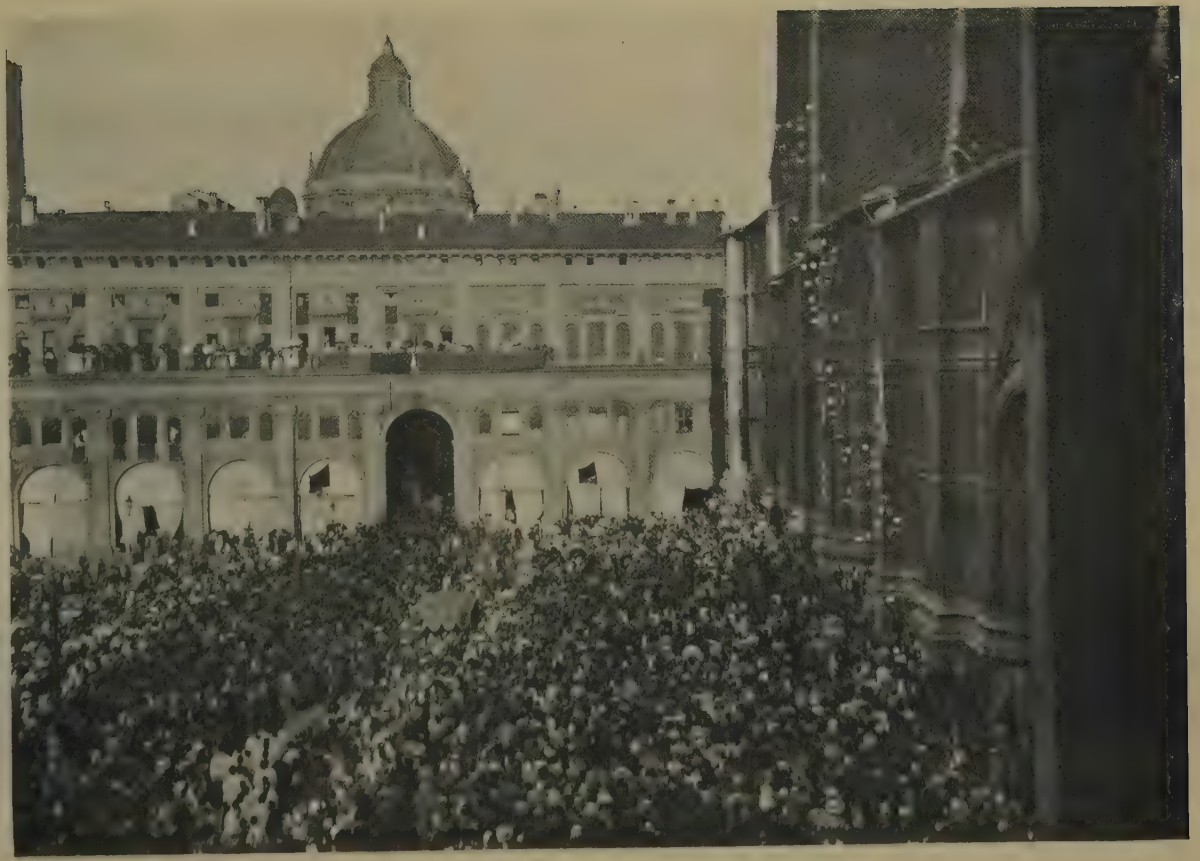
WOMAN SPINNING. ATRIUM OF THE CHURCH OF THE MADONNA DI SAN LUCA

The ceremony has been observed with great regularity each year since its first institution. The only year it has failed to be celebrated was in 1849, when the Austrians were bombarding the city. The date of the ceremony was changed not long after its first institution. Pope Liberius in the fourth century had instituted the three days before Ascension Day as rogation days for all the cities of Christendom. It was decided to bring the Bolognese days of special prayer into conformity with the practice of other Christian cities. The days before Ascension Day were therefore appointed for the ceremonies in connection with the stay of the Madonna di S. Luca within the walls of the city. And on those days were offered the special prayers for the weather favourable to a good harvest. It was not only for the abatement of destructive rain that the aid of the Madonna was invoked. In that same year—1433—there came later a period of drought. After three months with no drop of rain, the earth was too hard and dry for the possibility of cultivation. Again in late autumn the Madonna was brought into the city. After the three days' processions, the chronicler tells that as soon as the Madonna was replaced with great ceremony in her tabernacle in the church on the mount, there fell a soft refreshing rain which continued for three days without ceasing.

Many and various are the stories of the miracles owed to the power of this venerated Madonna. Some even have been told within the last few

years. The gratitude and devotion of the people of Bologna was in the year 1603 marked by a very special ceremony on May 4th. The family of the Ghelli presented a massive gold crown of the value of 1,500 scudi to the Madonna. The Senate decreed that there should be a solemn coronation. All the ecclesiastical and the civic authorities assembled to meet the Madonna at the Porta S. Felice, and there was a vast concourse of people. A triumphal arch had been erected on the Ponte della Carità, and the via S. Felice was decorated with gay taffeta and festoons of flowers. The procession having reached this point, the picture was placed on the altar there prepared for it. The Archbishop—Alfonso Paleotti—then blessed the crown and placed it over the venerated image. The coronation was announced by the shouts of the people, the sound of musical instruments, the pealing of the bells, and the thunder of artillery. The Senate soon afterwards decreed the motto "Praesidium et decus" as a title of the Madonna di S. Luca.

The three hundredth anniversary of this coronation was celebrated on May 21st, 1903. The Cardinal Archbishop Svampa gave the benediction at the same spot by the Ponte della Carità in the via Aurelio Saffi, where the coronation had been performed three hundred years before. It is said that the crowd on this occasion numbered 100,000. A stone inserted in the wall of the adjoining colonnade records these ceremonies.

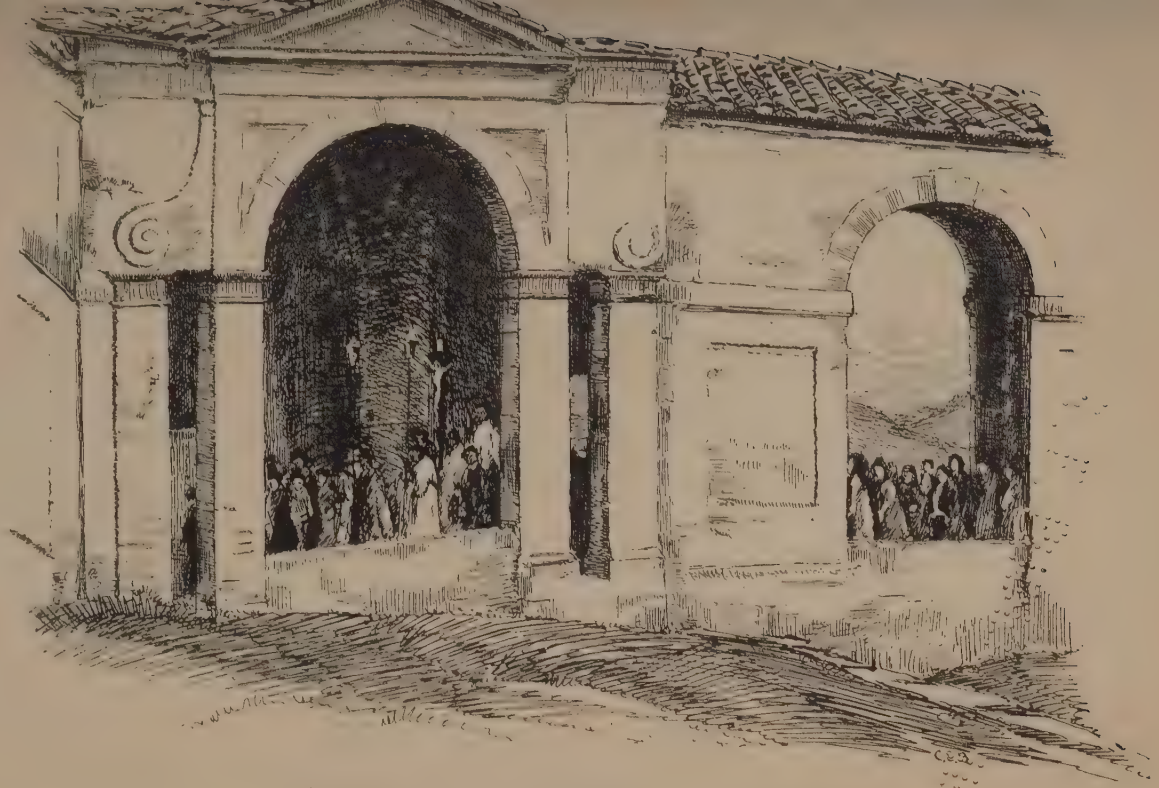


The route taken by the procession of the Madonna at her annual entry into the city has varied slightly in different years in the past. It pertained to the Prior of the Confraternity "della Morte" to arrange the route. This is now the order of the ceremony. On the Saturday before Ascension Day the Madonna is brought into the city with solemn ceremony and procession, and is placed over the high altar in the Duomo. On this and the following days crowds of the devout from among the people of Bologna and of the people from all the country round come to pay their devotions. In the afternoon of the day before Ascension Day there is a solemn ceremony—the "Benedizione" in the great Piazza. This Benedizione was first given in 1588 by the Archbishop Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti. The procession starts from the Duomo and makes its way by the Pavaglione round to S. Petronio. It enters the church by the door at the south end. All this time the crowd in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele has been growing more and more dense, till the whole space is filled by the expectant multitude. The balcony of the Palazzo del Podestà, the windows of the Palazzo Pubblico, the balconies above the "portici" dei Banchi, every point of vantage is crowded. The people have even established themselves in a close mass on the marble platform in front of the façade of S. Petronio, and on the steps by which it is raised above the level of the Piazza. Just a small space is kept clear on this platform in front of the great

central door, and in this stands the archiepiscopal chair. Soon the ecclesiastical procession begins to pass out by this door and to wind among the people in a space cleared for it as it advances. It includes Franciscans and Dominicans and a long line of priests in their vestments. There is chanting and music. Then comes the venerated Madonna, decked as in a sort of arbour of flowers, and preceded by the great gilt lamps. The Archbishop advances, and a halt is made just outside the door of S. Petronio. In solemn silence he gives the Benediction. The procession moves on again with chanting and music. It passes by the Piazza Nettuno back to the Duomo, and here the Madonna rests again for the night, and till the afternoon of the next day.

On Ascension Day there is again a procession in the afternoon. It passes by the Via Ugo Bassi, round to the Piazza Malpighi, where the "Benedizione" is again given. Then it proceeds, and, passing out by the Porta Saragozza, follows the long line of arcades, and under the arcades climbs the mount back to the sanctuary of the Madonna on its summit.

Besides these Ascensiontide processions, a series of pilgrimages is now arranged for the five Sundays before Easter. A number of parishes are grouped together for each Sunday. The pilgrims meet at Meloncello at 8 a.m.: the procession is arranged, the priests leading. They climb the mount under the shelter of the arcades, accompanied by crowds



PILGRIMAGE TO THE MADONNA DI SAN LUCA

Beyond the first turn of the arcades

along the road outside. The vast collection of country carts waiting empty below at Meloncello shows how many of the country folk from a distance have come to take their part in the function. The great church on the summit is crowded, and there are crowds outside that find their way in for part of the service, as place is made by the departure of some of the earlier worshippers. After Mass the tabernacle of the venerated Madonna is opened, and the crowds press and pass up on to the marble platform behind the high altar, and in turn the worshippers kiss the silver representation of the image held by the priest who stands on the steps below it.

Anyone who has seen that vast church crowded to overflowing with reverent worshippers will hardly think that the Church in Italy has quite lost its hold on the mass of the people. There are assembled young and old, men and women and little children. And when one considers that all have at least climbed that steep ascent (the sanctuary is 289 metres above the sea level), and that many have come from long distances in the country round, one realizes the strength of the devotional veneration that draws these multitudes on all occasions of solemnity in connection with the Madonna di S. Luca. The vast majority are the poor of the town and the peasants of the country. But there is also quite a sprinkling of the well-dressed in the congregation. At intervals the worshippers thin out, but only to be replaced by others who come crowding in.

The Church, too, still makes its appeal to this devotional feeling in the people. When in this last winter about a fortnight later than the terrible earthquakes in Sicily and Calabria, there was a shock of earthquake in Bologna, the Archbishop promptly issued notices exhorting his people to have recourse to the Madonna on the mount and to pray for her protection.

The present church of the Madonna di S. Luca was begun in 1723, the foundation stone being laid by Monsignor Bernardino Marescotti on July 26th. It was not completed till 1765. It was consecrated on March 25th in that year by the Cardinal Archbishop Vincenzo Malvezzi. The architect was Carlo Francesco Dotti. The nobles of the city had given largely to the cost. The Marchese Gerolamo Malvezzi contributed the whole grain harvest of his property for the year 1727, besides the flax harvest for three years and profits from silkworms, silver and money. The country Communes sent contributions in kind, such as cartloads of stone, sand, etc. The poorer people contributed their little, too. The arcades, 666 arches from the Porta Saragozza, were constructed between 1674 and 1739. They were restored between 1880 and 1895, together with the branch leading to the Certosa, by the combined efforts of all classes of the people of Bologna. Little tablets record the names and the callings of the contributors. One of these is inscribed "I zelanti cocchieri." And many record similarly humble effort.

There is a quaint story connected with the building of another oratory on a mount not far from the Monte della Guardia, and yet a little nearer to the city. It was in the year 1116, as the chronicler Alberti narrates, that a noble Bolognese citizen named Ottaviano Piatese "passed to the other life." His wife Pecciola was the daughter of Messer Alberto Gallazzi, "cavallier aurato," and heiress of great wealth. In the words of the chronicler: "This noble lady remained for thirty-two years without a husband. Having buried her dearly loved husband with much grief, she determined that she would never marry again, but serve God only. . . . She passed the year after his death in much weeping and grief. And although she was asked by many gentlemen to wed, for that she was young, prudent, wise, beautiful and rich, she had always replied to them that she did not wish to experiment in another husband. For, she said, if he shall be good and amiable and wise as had been Messer Ottaviano, if she should lose him, she did not wish to experience so much sorrow, and if he were not like him, she would not wish to encounter the unpleasantness and worry she would have."

Dame Pecciola determined to build an oratory on a little hill outside the city, called S. Benedetto, where she could sometimes retire for spiritual consolation. The workmen were collected to begin the work, and when they were planing the wood a white dove appeared, and taking in its beak one of the wood shavings flew away and placed it on

the summit of the hill where now stands the Villa Aldini. For several days the dove came backwards and forwards carrying the shavings. At last the workmen observed it, and, following its flight, found that it had formed a little orderly circle with the shavings on the summit of the mount. The workmen at once went to Madonna Pecciola and told her what they had seen. She, eager to see for herself, climbed the mount. Having watched the dove several times go and return with its building material, and continue to place it carefully according to its former plan, Dame Pecciola returned to the city and, seeking the Bishop Vettore, narrated the story of the dove and its work. The Bishop too went to the mount to see for himself, and returned greatly wondering, and with tears beseeching all present to join in devout prayer to " Il signor Iddio " that he would deign to reveal what this strange thing signified. Next morning a hermit came to the Bishop and told him how that night, towards morning as he was sleeping, he seemed to see an angel clothed in white, before whom was a white dove carrying wood shavings in its beak. The angel said to him, " Arise and come with me to see." He rose, and it seemed to him that he was taken on to the hill where the workmen had begun the oratory, and thence to the summit of the hill where was the circle made by the dove. The angel then said : " This is the place chosen by the ' divina clemenza ' for the erection of the oratory." Having said this he vanished. The

Bishop having heard this story was greatly comforted and told all to Madonna Pecciola, exhorting her to build her oratory in the place indicated by the dove. This she gladly did, and the oratory was constructed in the circular form designed by the dove.

In the fifteenth century the church was enlarged, and adjoining it was a Benedictine monastery. After the suppression of the monasteries this church and its surrounding land became the property of Count Ant. Aldini. The monastery was pulled down and the fine Villa Aldini was erected, building into it the ancient "Rotonda" part of the church. The fine frescoes by Galasso have perished, the owner who succeeded Count Aldini having made sad alterations in this relic of antiquity. In 1832 the Villa became the property of the Municipio, by whose care it was restored in 1842. The Palazzo Aldini, with its fine Ionic columns, is a conspicuous object in the view from the Piazza Malpighi, and other view-points in the city and around its walls.

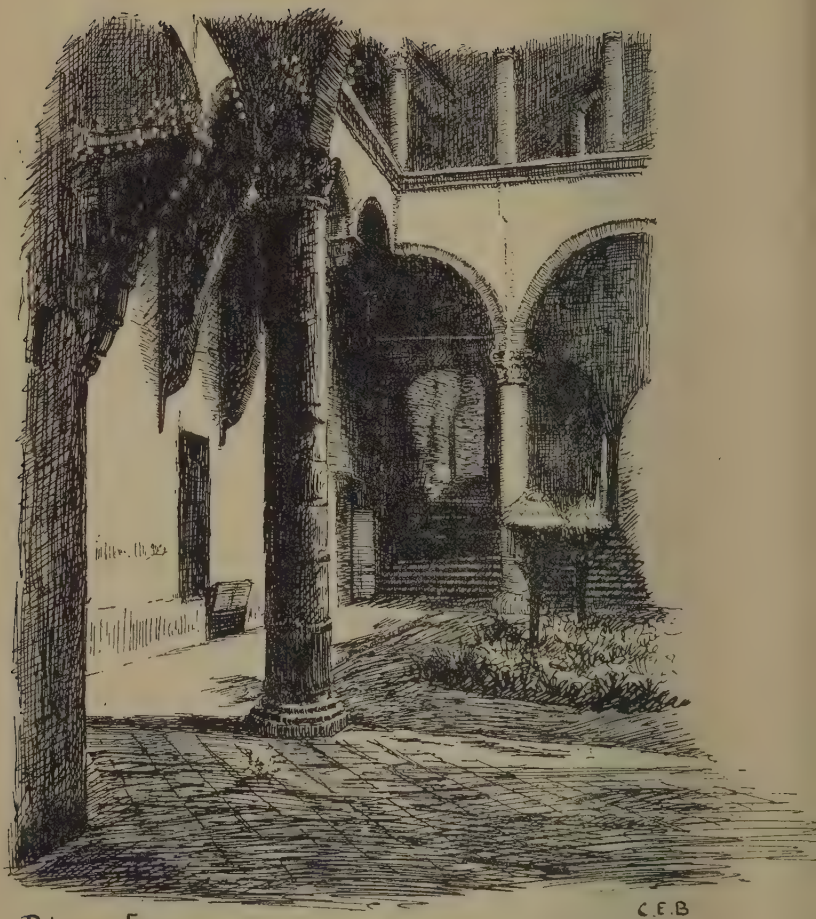
CHAPTER XIX

ARCHITECTURE, ARCHITECTS AND SCULPTORS

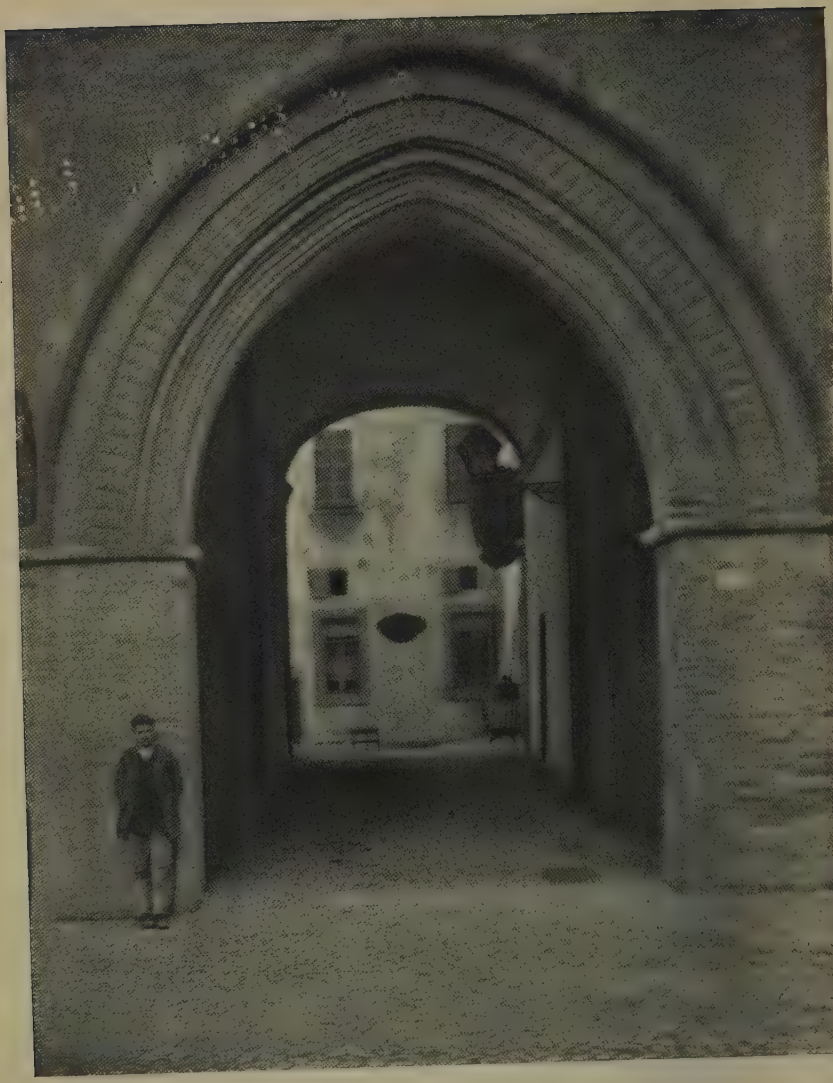
THE style of domestic architecture in Bologna of the thirteenth century may still be seen in two fine houses remaining. The Casa Isolani in via Mazzini, with its huge oak pillars nine metres high, supporting the projecting third story of the house. The terra-cotta ornament round the moulding of the entrance arch is a simple pattern, akin to dog tooth, and is made of the pale coloured clay of the early date. One order of the arch is of red-coloured bricks, and another little line of red gives variety to the design. The pretty windows with their sub-arches have been restored. The Casa Grassi (via Marsala 12) is also of the thirteenth century, and is being well restored. A house opposite to it has the oak beams supporting the upper story projection, but not so lofty as the Casa Isolani.

The fine Palazzo dei Conoscenti at the angle between via Manzoni and via Porta di Castello dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the graceful windows with pointed sub-arches and slender marble shafts are of this period. The

PALAZZO FAVA, FORMERLY DEI CONOSCENTI



A CORTILE OF THE PALAZZO FAVA



AN ENTRANCE OF THE OLD PALAZZO PEPOLI

palazzo was to a large extent rebuilt soon after it came into the possession of the Ghislardi. The fine cortile, with its rich ornamentation, dates from about 1483. The pretty windows with round-headed arch and sub-arches, inside the cortile, are of the same date. This fine palazzo in 1810 passed to the Fava Ghisilieri, and is now known as the Palazzo Fava. The third cortile and its surrounding buildings date from the sixteenth century.

Another of the earliest private dwellings of Bologna is the huge old Palazzo Pepoli begun by Taddeo Pepoli in 1345. It still stands with its "merli" crowning the line of the walls. One of its fine entrance arches has the chess-board pattern of the Pepoli arms in its moulding.

The house of the Da Castello (now De Simonis) in the via di Porta Castello is a good specimen of a private house early in the fifteenth century. The door with its pointed arch has rich terra-cotta decoration of the earliest Renaissance design. Above are the broken remains of the family arms. A little later in date is the fine Palazzo Aria, via Galliera 13, which has recently been well restored. The Palazzo Pallotti, via Garibaldi 3, shows a rich terra-cotta frieze of mingled Gothic and Renaissance design below the roof on the cortile side. This work with the double line of its loggie belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century.

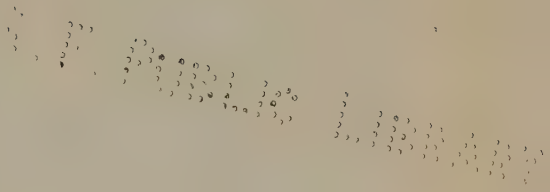
Pagno di Lapo Portigiani da Fiesole, the architect of the magnificent Bentivoglio palace which was

so soon destroyed, came to Bologna in 1453. His name is duly entered, with the names of his wife, four sons, a nephew, a niece and a mother, in the books of the Archives in which strangers coming to reside in Bologna were inscribed. In December, 1454, Pagno, with Antonio di Simone, entered into a contract to sculpture the capitals and bases for the pillars of the portico of the fine house that Giovanni di Francesco Bolognini was having built in the piazzi di S. Stefano. This palazzo is the latest important example of the pointed style in the domestic architecture of Bologna. It combines elements of the new Tuscan style, with the remains of the strong Gothic tradition in Bologna. The remains of mediaeval influence in style continued in Bologna till the close of the fifteenth century, and even on into the early years of the sixteenth century.

The beautiful Palazzo Bevilacqua was begun in 1481 for the Senator and lawyer Nicolo Sanuti. The graceful cortile with its double "loggiato" was constructed when the palace passed by exchange to Giovanni Bentivoglio in 1484. The exquisite frieze with which the cortile is adorned is of the same design as that executed just a few years earlier for the "portici" of S. Giacomo Maggiore. The whole cortile has just been restored with great care.

These are but a few of the splendid palaces that one sees in all directions in wandering about Bologna. There are some specially fine in the via

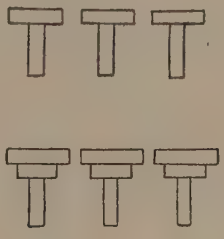
PALAZZO BEVILACQUA



PALAZZO MAZZACORATI, VIA BARBAZIANA

S. Stefano and in the via Mazzini. The Palazzo Ghisilieri, now the Hotel Brun, was built in 1491, and added to in 1510.

The terra-cotta decorations of all these palaces are an interesting study. There was no marble to be had near to Bologna, and it was therefore difficult to obtain. But there was good clay to be found in the near mountains, and in building, terra-cotta decoration has in Bologna mostly taken the place of marble. In most cases the patterns were made from moulds or stamps designed and prepared by the artist. Sometimes the artist modelled the whole design in the soft clay, and it was then divided into pieces for convenience in baking. In a very few cases the terra-cotta was sculptured into patterns with the chisel after baking. This was done in the ornamentation of the Foro dei Mercanti.



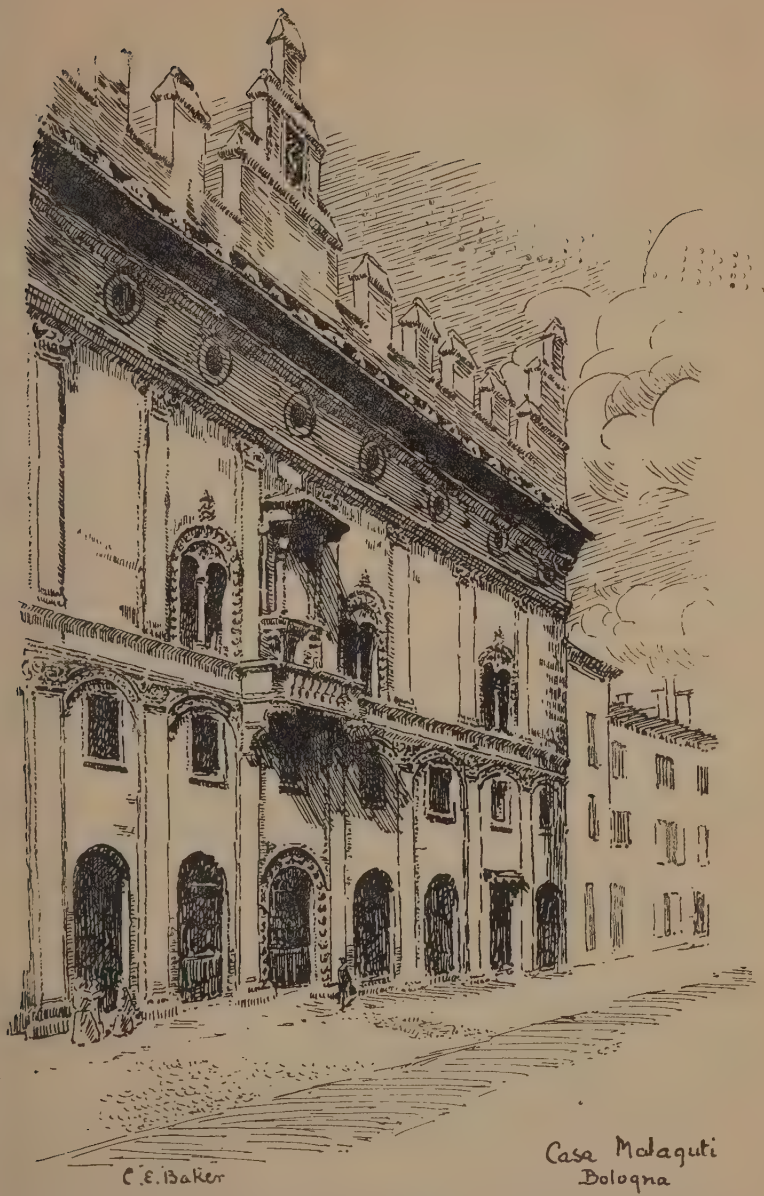
There is great variety in the patterns of the terra-cotta decorations. At first they are very simple. The earliest of all are formed simply by arranging bricks in a projecting pattern, in a line below the eaves.

A little later we find tiles in the simplest patterns

of Gothic design. By degrees greater richness is developed. Then the various designs of Gothic character in time are modified by the introduction of Renaissance elements, most frequently in the form of an additional member below the patterns of Gothic design. Later the Renaissance decoration prevails and the Gothic disappears. There are some very beautiful designs in the terra-cotta work of the façade of the Oratorio dello Spirito Santo, which dates from the end of the fifteenth century. Some of the patterns are quite original, and are not to be found in any other work of the kind in Bologna. The church has been diverted from sacred uses, but the façade has been restored.

The fine old Guild House of the " Stracciaiuoli o Drappieri " in Piazza Ravegnana, opposite to the leaning towers, is now called the Casa Malaguti. It has been suggested that Francia made the design for it, but of this there is no evidence, and the name of the architect has not been traced. It was built in 1496, and its handsome decorations are still in good preservation.

The Palazzo Fantuzzi is interesting as having been for some years the residence of the Old Pretender and his family. It is in via S. Vitale, opposite to the church of SS. Vitale and Agricola. The architect who designed the cortile was Andrea Formigine The building was begun in 1517 and finished a few years later. The style of the architecture is massive and heavy; but the inner cortile and staircase are fine.



THE GUILD-HOUSE OF THE DRAPPIERI, NOW CASA MALAGUTI

U. S. Public Health Service

PALAZZO SALINA-AMORINI-BOLOGNINI, VIA SAN STEFANO

CASA SALIMBENI, VIA MARCHESANA

See chap. xix., note (1)

PUBLIC LIBRARY

CASA GIOANETTI AND CASA MÁMO, VIA MAZZINI

See chap. xix., note (1)

The Palazzo dei Carracci was built by the "giureconsulto" Agostino Bero (1474–1554). Part towards the vicolo dei Poeti was added by his son in 1570. The house was restored[1] under the direction of Tito Azzolini in 1884.

The palace which best preserves the characteristics of the golden age of the local Bolognese architecture is the Palazzo Pallavicini in via Galliera. This fine palace was begun in 1497 for that Bartolomeo Felicini whose portrait we see in the beautiful altar picture that Francia painted by his commission. The building was finished for his son before 1528, and was then called Palazzo Felicini. Oretti says that it cost 70,000 lire. A contemporary chronicler describes it as "not unworthy of kings or princes."

Somewhat similar in style is the "Casa Gualandi, gia Saraceni," built at the close of the fifteenth century.

The Palazzo Salina-Amorini-Bolognini begun in 1525 has decorations by Alfonso Lombardi, Formigine and Properzia de' Rossi.[2] The Palazzo Buoncompagni (via del Monte 8) was built just after 1544 by Cristoforo Buoncompagni. It has been supposed that Baldassare Peruzzi was the architect, but there is much uncertainty. It is a fine example of the transition from classical to barocco style.

The Fieraventi were a family of architects, the most distinguished members being Fieravante and his son Aristotile. Fieravante Fieravanti was born about 1380. Besides work in Bologna he built the

castle of Braccio da Montone in Perugia, and was the engineer who directed the works for carrying off water from Lake Thrasymene, between 1420–23. From the latter date till 1430 he was again in Bologna, busily employed as "ingigniero sovra la fabrica" in rebuilding that part of the Palazzo Pubblico which had been destroyed by fire. The fine cortile with its low centred arches is his design. The windows that he made looking into the cortile have been blocked by the later insertions, and only traces of their pointed arches remain. But outside the line of his fine pointed windows, with their terra-cotta mouldings, is still preserved. In all this work may be noted the transition from Gothic to Renaissance design and structure.

Aristotile was born about 1423. No great edifice in Bologna preserves his fame, though he was frequently working for the Commune in the repair and restoration of public buildings. His name is associated with the engineering feat of transporting the torre della Magione a distance of some thirty-five feet. The tower was pulled down in 1825, so only the record of the achievement remains: a tablet with inscription near the Porta in the via Mazzini marks the spot. Aristotile was employed on many works away from Bologna, including the rectification of more than one tower afflicted with a "pendenza." In 1475 he went to Russia, where he built the great church in the Kremlin at Moscow. He was employed on other buildings in Russia, and in founding cannons and bells.

Two architects born in Bologna who did important work in the city are Antonio di Bernardino Morandi and his nephew Francesco, known as "i Terribilia." Antonio was working for many years in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, and died in 1568. His greatest work was the fine university building—the Archiginnasio—with its splendid cortile. Antonio also rebuilt the dormitories and cloisters of the Dominican monastery, and the rebuilding of the refectory and much other building in the monastery of S. Giovanni in Monte was done under his direction. He executed much other work in Bologna, and was called to Milan in 1540 as architect for some work in its Duomo. Francesco became "ingegnere della Fabbrica di S. Petronio" in 1568. He was a follower of Vignola in his artistic principles. The great work of Pagno di Lapo Portigiani da Fiesole—the magnificent palace of the Bentivoglio—has perished, and only the fame of its splendour has survived.

It is only possible to mention a few of the many sculptors who have worked in Bologna. Some have been already mentioned in connection with the public buildings which they designed and erected. Andrea da Fiesole sculptured the fine tomb of Bartolomeo da Saliceto in 1412. About this time he was also doing work for the Cappella di S. Domenico. Later he worked under Fieravante Fieravanti at the rebuilding of the ruined part of the Palazzo Pubblico, and for this he executed work both in stone and in terra-cotta.

Francesco di Simone Ferrucci, besides the monuments of Tartagni (1477) and of Vianesio Albergate, sculptured tracery for the windows of S. Petronio, and the "porta" of the Palazzo Bevilacqua. He died in 1493.

The great Sienese sculptor Jacopo della Quercia came to Bologna in 1425. He came on the invitation of the Archbishop of Arles, who was then Papal Legate in Bologna, and entered into a contract to execute from his own design the sculptures for the great door of S. Petronio. But he had engagements in his native city still unfulfilled, and in the midst of his work was peremptorily recalled there in 1428. He was again in Bologna for a short time before the close of the year, and when he had finished his bronze relief for the font in S. Giovanni at Siena, he returned to Bologna in October, 1429. Besides the work he undertook for S. Petronio, Jacopo executed while in Bologna a relief of the Madonna and Child, and one of S. Giorgio; both are in the Museo Civico. It was probably about the year 1435 that Jacopo sculptured the fine monument in the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore, and bearing an inscription in memory of Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio. He designed it for a member of the Ferrarese family de' Vari. From 1392 on into the fifteenth century members of the de' Vari family were lecturers in the University of Bologna. The monument was not quite finished when the sculptor left Bologna, and the Senate confiscated it in consideration of his failure to

execute his contracts for the State. When Annibale Bentivoglio rose to power, he found the fine monument still in Bologna, and adopted it to place in honour of his father. This explains how it comes that on the tomb of the soldier and politician is represented the professor lecturing to his class. The effigy also is most probably a portrait of the de' Vari, and not a representation of Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio.

Poor Jacopo was harassed by the rival claims of the authorities in Bologna, and in his native city. In 1436 he was in Parma, and in 1437 he was back in Siena. In September he obtained leave of absence to go to Bologna for a month, and having exceeded that time the Sienese became importunate, and after delay caused by illness, he went back to them. Later, when the Bolognese authorities in turn urged their claims, they were informed that the artist had passed away on October 20th, 1438.

The domination of Giovanni II Bentivoglio gave the impulse to great building activity. Besides the public works undertaken, the nobles vied with each other in the erection of magnificent palaces. Court patronage attracted and encouraged skilled artists. Already in 1463 Nicolo da Bari had sculptured his forceful though unattractive group, "The dead Christ and the weeping Maries," for the church of S^{a} Maria della Vita. In 1469 the work of completing the "arca" of S. Domenico was entrusted to him. In 1478 his Madonna and Child were placed on the façade of the Palazzo

Pubblico. The eagle above the door of S. Giovanni in Monte is also his work. The equestrian figure of Annibale Bentivoglio in bas-relief, in the Bentivoglio chapel, is usually ascribed to Nicolo; but there is a little doubt as to whether he executed it.

Nicolo died on July 2nd, 1494, and the "cimasa" of the shrine of S. Dominic was still not quite finished: three of the statuettes were still wanting, and he had only carved one of the angels that kneel before the "arca."

A few months later, there arrived in Bologna a young Florentine artist whose genius had already attracted the notice of the Medici princes in his own city. But Piero, the son of his first patron, had just been driven into exile, and Michelangelo after a few days in Venice returned to Bologna. Though only just twenty, he had done work of marked power. On entering the city, he and his companions omitted to obtain the certificate with which it was necessary for strangers to be provided. This neglect resulted in their arrest, and Michelangelo was condemned to pay a fine of fifty bolognini. But he had no money, and would have been sent to prison had not Gianfrancesco Aldrovandi come to the rescue. Aldrovandi knew something of the young sculptor's fame: he paid the fine, and invited Michelangelo to come to his house. Aldrovandi showed him the splendid "arca" and asked him if he could undertake to sculpture the figures that were still wanting. Michelangelo gladly ex-

Porta della Chiesa del Corpus Domini
Bologna

DOOR OF THE CHURCH CALLED CORPUS DOMINI
OR SANTA CATERINA

pressed his readiness to accept the commission, which Aldrovandi was able to secure for him. It is said that Michelangelo also sculptured one of the eagles of Serlio's window in the Palazzo Pubblico. There is certainly a marked superiority in the execution of the left hand one.

Michelangelo was again in Bologna when Julius II had made his entry after the expulsion of the Bentivoglio. He was commissioned to execute the colossal statue of the Pope : a great work which was destroyed soon after its erection.

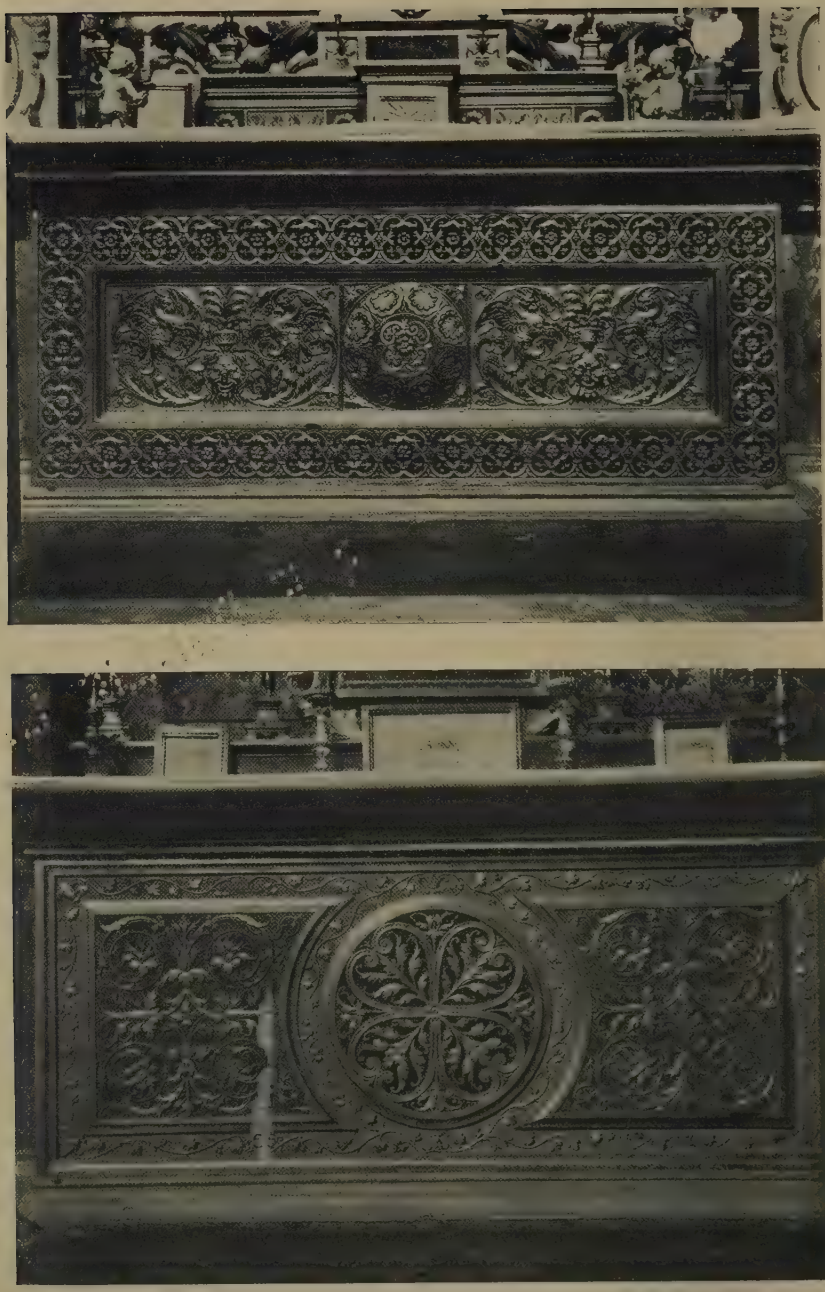
Sperandio came from Mantua on the invitation of Giovanni II and was officially appointed his medallist. Besides work in architecture and sculpture, he was skilled as a goldsmith. He modelled the fine ornament of the door of the church of Corpus Domini.

Gaspare Nadi was the architect who reconstructed the vaulting of the church of S^{a} Cecilia : he records his work in his diary under the date 1483. He was both architect and stonemason, a combination quite usual in his day. Many great works have from time to time been attributed to him, for which we find no claim in his very careful diary. The original MS. of the diary still exists, and it is frequently referred to by historians as a source of information on points of historical importance. Gaspare was born in 1418, and beginning with the record of his early years, he continued his diary up to the time of his death in 1504. It is therefore a very valuable authority for the events of the

important period through which he lived. He seems to have been devoted to the Bentivoglio family.

The beautiful frames of some of Francia's pictures, with their graceful design and exquisite carving, are the work of an artist known by the name of Formigine. Andrea Marchesi, who adopted this name from his birthplace near Modena, was one of a family of artists skilled in this and various kinds of work in sculpture. His son was named Jacopo; he learnt from his father and continued his work. But Andrea was the more gifted artist. He was also a good architect: the Palazzo Malvezzi-Campeggi, and the cortile of the Palazzo Fantuzzi, are his design, and were built under his direction. He was architect for the church of S. Bartolomeo, but only his portico remains as the rest of the church has been rebuilt. He built, or had a share in building, many other palaces in Bologna. Little record remains of this family of artists, except the works that they executed. A recent writer suggests some time between 1480 and 1490 as the date of Andrea's birth. But as Francia's picture with its beautiful frame was placed over the altar in the Bentivoglio chapel in 1499, a date a little before rather than after 1480 is probable for Andrea's birth. The design and execution show the work of a fully developed artist.

Some of Andrea's finest work is to be seen in S. Martino, for which he designed the frame of Francia's picture, and the splendid altar decorations



ALTARS IN S. GREGORIO

By Andrea Formigine

of the Bentivoglio chapel on the opposite side of the church.

Other specimens are :—

The altar ancona framing Francia's picture, in the Chapel of S. Vitale and Agricola.

The "paliotti" of S. Gregorio.

The ornament of the door under the portico of S. Michele in Bosco.

In some cases it is difficult to distinguish the work of Andrea from that of his son, or of the followers of their school. The name "formiginesco" is applied generally to work of the style that originated with Andrea. In architecture Andrea Marchesi was a "quattrocentista" continuing artistic traditions from the earlier age. But in his decorative work his designs, though founded on the motives of the first Renaissance and of Tuscan art, developed a richness and delicacy that were essentially his own. He gained something too from the study of Francia's work, and perhaps also that of Costa. In his designs we see the influence of the beautiful decorative work that they painted in their pictures.

Many writers give 1487 as the date of the birth of Alfonso Lombardi. But that is not consistent with the assertion that he was a pupil of Nicolo dall' Arca, who died in 1494. Superbi says that Alfonso died at the age of seventy-three, and we have documentary evidence that he died in Bologna in 1536, so we shall not be far wrong in assuming 1463 as the date of his birth. He was the son of

Niccolo Cittadelli, who came from Lucca and settled in Ferrara, where he married a sister of Pietro Lombardi. Though Niccolo, too, was a sculptor, it is said that Alfonso first studied his art as the pupil of his uncle, Pietro Lombardi. It is probably for this reason that Alfonso adopted the name of his mother's family, the Lombardi. He was proud to sign himself " Ferrariensis," as on the reliefs he executed for the " arca " of S. Domenico. It is not recorded when Alfonso came to Bologna ; the earliest date given for work of his remaining there is 1504, for the group of " the dead Christ " under S. Pietro.

He was in Bologna and helped Michelangelo with the colossal statue of Pope Julius II. They worked together under the Pavaglione, and the statue was cast in bronze, and set up over the great door of S. Petronio in 1508. It weighed 17,500 lb. Michelangelo was greatly impressed by the excellence of Alfonso's great work in marble, the tomb of the warrior Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti, which he had recently sculptured for the church of S. Michele in Bosco. He expressed his appreciation of his friend's work in forcible Tuscan, saying, " Alfonso was so wonderful in his work, that the clay trembled under his hands in obedience."

Alfonso finished the fine group of " the death of the Virgin " for the oratory of S^{a} Maria della Vita in 1519. The next year he executed the " Ercole " of the Palazzo Pubblico. In this powerful work

in bronzed terra-cotta he was assisted by Zaccaria da Volterra.

The story is told that when Charles V was in Bologna for his coronation, Alfonso was very anxious to see the Emperor. He had obtained from friends an introduction to Titian, who had just been commissioned to paint a portrait of Charles, and he asked the painter to allow him to go with him to a sitting as his attendant to carry the implements of his work. Titian consented, and the two went together to the Emperor's apartments. Titian set to work, the Emperor standing in a majestic pose. Alfonso stood just behind Titian, as if in readiness for anything his master might want. Titian was soon absorbed in his work, and Alfonso too was gazing as he wished " nell' augusta faccia di quel grande eroe, del qual tante cose illustri e magnanime narrava la fama " (in the august face of the great hero, of whom so many noble and magnanimous things were narrated).

Alfonso, taking advantage of his opportunity, drew from his satchel the wax and the little wooden implements of his work, and quickly modelled a small portrait of Charles. It was just finished, when Titian, having completed the colouring of the face, turned and invited the Emperor to look at his picture. But Charles had observed Alfonso's surreptitious movements, and asked to see what he had been doing. He was so pleased with the excellence of the little model, that he asked Alfonso if he could execute it in marble and in large size. The sculptor

was delighted to undertake the commission. Charles told him to bring it to him to Genoa ; and before leaving Bologna he paid Titian for the picture, giving him within his own hand, 1,000 scudi, and commanding him to give one half of the gold coins to his "garzone." This command Titian punctually fulfilled. When Alfonso arrived at Genoa with the bust, Charles was so pleased with it that he paid the expenses of the journey and gave him 300 gold pieces, and "gave him his grace and protection." With the bust, Alfonso presented a sonnet written for the purpose by his friend Bernardo Tasso. The sonnet refers to the Emperor's birthday, February 24th, and ends with the lines—

"L'invitissimo, e sagro Carlo Augusto
A cui s'inchineran la terra e l'acque.

"Dal freddo scita all' etiope adusto ;
Sotto a cui fioriran le cose belle."

Alfonso's other works in Bologna are :—

The busts of the twelve apostles round the choir of S. Giovanni in Monte.

The terra-cotta statues of the four "Protettori" of Bologna under the central arches of the Voltone del Palazzo del Podestà.

Some of the reliefs of one of the side doors of the façade of S. Petronio, and on the inner side of that façade the sculpture of God the Father, the Virgin and the Angel. In the Museo di S. Petronio there is also a relief of the "Tomb of Jacob."

In the old Oratorio di S[a] Maria della Vita, now under the Amministrazione degli ospedali, there is a very fine group of the "Death of the Virgin." The figures are more than life-size, and very powerfully modelled.

The Palazzo Bolognini and the Casa Ṣalina have specimens of his work; and there is a head over the door of the church of S. Nicolo. The very fine statue of Ercole Bottrigari at the Certosa is also by Lombardi. His predella for the "arca" of S[t] Dominic has been mentioned in the account of that shrine.[3]

Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici induced Alfonso Lombardi to come to Rome, where he was commissioned to execute a statue of the Emperor Vitellius. He also sculptured a bust of Pope Clement VII.

Clement died in 1534, and Cardinal Medici gave Alfonso the commission for his monument. But the Cardinal died very soon after, and Alfonso having thus lost his patron and the work left Rome. He stayed for a time in Florence, patronized by Cardinal Cibo, by whose help he obtained various commissions. But he soon returned to Bologna.

Jehan Boulongue was born at Douai in 1524, and was thus of Flemish race. His parents were of the artisan class, and it is thought that his father was a wood-carver. Their ambition was to educate him for a notary. But the young Jehan loved art, and was skilled in designing. Conscious of his inspiration for art, he succeeded at the age of sixteen in

obtaining his parents' consent that he should go to Antwerp to study. Busy and flourishing Antwerp numbered then some 300 artists within it. Jehan had the good fortune to become the apprentice of Jacques Dubroeucq, perhaps the most distinguished of these masters. Dubroeucq had studied in Italy, and, impressed by his master, Jehan determined to see for himself the art treasures of that wonderful land. He journeyed thither in the company of two friends with purses as light as his own. It was probably in 1551 that Jehan went to Rome, being then twenty-seven years of age. He had been studying long and carefully, and was thus prepared to make the best use of his two years in the great city. He copied in wax or in terra-cotta the most important monuments of antiquity preserved in Rome, and studied with care the great works of Renaissance art collected in its galleries and museums.

Michelangelo was still living in Rome, and Jehan was very eager to see him: but he was difficult of access. In his old age Jehan narrated how, after more than a year spent in hard work at copying, he ventured to make with great care an original model. With this in his hand he sought out the great sculptor, though with much trepidation. Michelangelo took the model, reworked the clay, and with marvellous rapidity recomposed it in an entirely different attitude. He returned it to the young man, saying, "Eh! va-t-en, d'abord ébaucher, tu poliras ensuite." ("Go, first sketch, you will polish afterwards.") As has been well

said by Cicognara and Desjardins, Jehan "formed his taste and his style on the modern works of Buonarotti, without losing any of the originality or independence of his genius." After two years in Rome our young artist's slender resources were exhausted, and he had to think of returning home. He was very desirous to visit Florence on his way, before passing the Alps. He had not been long in Florence when he had the good fortune to meet Bernardo Vecchietti, a rich and noble Florentine. Vecchietti at once recognized his genius, and advised him to continue in the midst of works of art in Florence. He offered him a home for three years in his own palace, and promised to help him with facilities for study. He earned something during this time by work for the ornamental parts of buildings that were being constructed. It was not till after five years' work in Florence that he achieved his first triumph in marble. He was indebted to his kind friend Vecchietti for the block of this more costly material, and from it he sculptured a Venus. This graceful statue confirmed the reputation he had already won as great among the artists of his time. Vecchietti judged this a favourable opportunity for introducing him to Prince Francesco di Medici. The Prince was delighted with the Venus and glad to acquire it. This was in 1558. Giovanni was entrusted with various commissions by the Medici.

In 1559 came the competition for the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, and Prince

Francesco encouraged Giovanni to compete for it. But the Duke Cosimo would not even see his model, "because," says Vasari, "not having yet seen any considerable work in marble by his hand, he did not think he could entrust to him for the first so great an undertaking; notwithstanding that in the judgment of many artists and connoisseurs his model was the best in many respects." But though this work was entrusted to Ammanato, the model established the fame of Giovanni, and it was probably due to it that he obtained the commission for the fountain at Bologna. Francesco had attached the promising artist to himself by a salary of thirteen crowns a month. In 1563 Pope Pius IV asked the Prince to allow Giovanni to go to Bologna to share in the construction of the great fountain which he had determined to have erected in the Piazza di S. Petronio to replace the old one which dated from 1473. The Pope authorized the work in a letter of April 28th, 1563, in response to the request of the Vice-Legate, Pietro Donato Cesi, bishop of Narni.

Francesco consented to allow Giovanni to be absent for a time at Bologna. The Vice-Legate had appointed Tommaso Lauretti of Palermo to be the architect of the fountain. By the agreement of August 20th, Giovanni Bologna, sculptor, and Zanobi Portigiani, founder, undertook, for a sum agreed upon, to execute in the space of ten months, for the adornment of the said fountain, a figure of bronze nine feet in height, representing Neptune,

four children each three feet high, four harpies of the same height, and four shields for arms. Giovanni was lodged at the cost of the town, and given a studio within the vast space designated as "il pavaglione." The work on the fountain continued through the years 1564, 5 and 6, and cost the town 70,000 crowns. Giovanni was several times recalled to Florence by his patron, but he did not finally leave Bologna till 1567. He was in Florence and assisted in the preparation of the fêtes for the triumphal entry of Anne of Austria, the bride of Francesco, in December, 1565. From his return to Bologna in April, 1566, he was constantly working on the fountain till the following February. It was while he was busily engaged in finishing this great work that he received a visit from Vasari. Francesco now became pressing for the return of his sculptor, and the work being finished, the Government of the Forty of Bologna wrote expressing their satisfaction and promising to send him back with expressions of lively gratitude. Giovanni was occupied with much new work in Florence. When in Rome in 1572 he was presented by Vasari to the Pope as "the prince of the sculptors of Florence." Other towns of Italy were eager to induce the great artist to execute work for them, as were also Princes and Emperors. The larger number of Giovanni's best works are in Florence, but Pisa, Lucca and Genoa have specimens of value to show.

His works are very numerous, for he was an in-

dustrious worker: he lived to a good old age and worked at his art till the last. He died in 1608, aged eighty-four. In his crucifixes he created a type for the Christ; and besides the many copies by his own hand, there are copies by his pupils. Many honours were conferred upon him. He was a member of the Academy of Drawing, the Emperor Rudolph II conferred on him a diploma of nobility, from the Pope he received the Order of Christ, of the orders in his gift the most highly esteemed. His own Prince appreciated him, though he did not give him a very high money reward. However, when Francesco became Grand Duke he did increase his salary to twenty-five crowns a month, and he gave him some confiscated property. Letters exist in which he urges his claim for more money for his needs, in consideration of work done for his patron. The Grand Duke Ferdinand was more liberal to him than Francesco, and he gave him a good house in the via di Pinti.

We get a pleasing account of Giovanni in a letter from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino, when trying to obtain for his master something of the sculptor's work. Simone says: "He is the best man possible; not at all avaricious, as is proved by his being very poor, entirely bent on glory, and having but one ambition, to be a second Michelangelo, and in the judgment of many connoisseurs he has already achieved it. If God grants him life he will perhaps surpass him, that at least is the opinion of the Grand Duke." Again: "The artist tells me

that he cares nothing for money; he never makes an agreement with anyone, he takes what is given him. And it is said, in fact, that his works are never paid for at half their value." Of his working power Simone says: "He never loses an hour day or night, and bears great fatigue without relaxation."

In a letter from Maria de' Medici, Queen of France, to Duke Ferdinand, with reference to the equestrian statue of Henry IV which he intended that Giovanni should make for her, she made an amusing suggestion. So eager was she for the completion of the work, that she asked her uncle to give for it the horse from the statue which the artist had just completed for him, and on which his own "effigy" was already seated.

CHAPTER XX

THE EARLY PAINTERS OF BOLOGNA

" Frate," diss' egli, "più ridon le carte
che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese:
l'onore e tutto or suo, e mio in parte."

Dante, " Purg." c., xi. 82–4.

BOLOGNA cannot rival Florence or Siena in the interest and importance of its early art. So much has been lost of the work of the earliest artists, and so little remains, that the existence of an early school of art at Bologna has been overlooked in general histories of art. But the city had its artists at an early date, and there are distinctive features in its early schools of painting. Careful search shows that quite enough remains for us to appreciate in some degree what that art has been. We find mention of the work of three artists living in the twelfth century—one Petrus, to whose work Malvasia assigns the dates 1115 and 1120; the paintings were signed p. f., Petrus fecit, and were still to be seen in the seventeenth century. Guido da Bologna painted saints and a Madonna in 1178 and 1180, and a small picture of the Madonna in the Accademia is attributed to him, though without real evidence. The earliest known picture by Ventura was painted in 1197; it was a S. Antony,

and was placed in the church of S[a] Maria Nuova. Unfortunately none of these paintings survive except the little picture in the Accademia. Ventura continued to paint in the first half of the thirteenth century, and his pictures were signed "Ventura de Bononia" and "Ventura pinsit." Orso was another Bolognese painter who was painting in the earlier part of the same century; and Orsone early and later in the century.

There were good miniature painters in Bologna, as may be seen from the fine collection of illuminated choir books in the Museo Civico, and in the illuminated "matricola" books of the various guilds, and their Statutes, of which a splendid collection is preserved in the Archivio di Stato, some also being shown in the Museo Civico, and some being in the guardianship of the Biblioteca Comunale. Oderigi da Gubbio, the miniaturist celebrated in Dante's lines—

> "O," dissi lui, "non sei tu Oderisi,
> l'onor d' Agobbio, e l'onor di quell'arte
> che 'alluminare' e chiamata in Parisi?"
> ("Purg.", xi. 79–81)

was in Bologna in the thirteenth century. It has even been suggested that he learnt his art there. The native born Franco Bolognese was his pupil, and both Dante and Vasari agree in saying that he surpassed his master. Both painters were invited to Rome by Pope Boniface VIII, and were at work on the illumination of books for the Papal library about the year 1298, at the same time that Giotto was painting in the Basilica of S[t] Peter.

The words of Vasari's appreciation of the work of Franco Bolognese are worth quoting, and carry additional weight when we remember that Vasari was not given to magnifying the work of artists from other cities than his own Florence. He is speaking of the work of Giotto and of Oderigi da Gubbio in Rome, and continues: "And in my book of ancient drawings there are some remains by the hand of that one (that is Oderigi), who truly was a clever man; though a much better master than he, was Franco Bolognese the Miniaturist, who for the same Pope and for the same Library, executed at the same time many things most excellently in that manner, as may be seen in the said book, where I have designs by his hand in painting and in miniature work: and among them an eagle extremely well done, and a lion breaking a tree, most beautiful," etc.

The miniaturists' art was chiefly cultivated in monasteries in the earliest ages. But in Bologna the influence of the "Studio" gave rise to a lay school of miniaturists, and women too were employed in the art. The wealthy law students liked to have finely miniatured copies of their law codices. And the books of the Statutes of the Guilds, and their "Matricole" were richly illuminated. In Bologna the lay artists worked even for the religious orders, and the art flourished at an early date more extensively than in other parts of Italy. This early school of the miniaturists' art reached its highest excellence at the close of the thirteenth

century, and within the first half of the fourteenth century. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the British Museum in London have some of the finest specimens of the Bolognese work of this period. Fine examples are to be found at many other places outside Italy. The Bibles in London and in Paris, and the celebrated Decretals of the Bibliothèque Nationale, show very beautiful and delicate work. Much of the very finest of this illuminated work by Bolognese artists of the best period is in the Vatican library. The finest works in Bologna belonging to this school are the Codices of the Amministrazione degli Ospedali; the Antifonario No. 16 in the Museo Civico, and the "Digesto" in the library of the Spanish College. The magnificent "Graduali" executed for S. Michele in Bosco are now in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena.

The best known name among the miniaturists of Bologna of the later period is that of Nicolo di Giacomo. He was born in one of the early years of the fourteenth century. The first work with his signature is of the date 1351, and much of his work is signed "Nicolaus f." There is a great deal of his work still to be seen in Bologna: numerous Statutes in the Archivio di Stato, and three books of the "Creditori del Monte." In the Museo Civico there are the Statutes and the Matricole of the Societa dei Merciai for the year 1360, and the "libri corali" Nos. 28, 29 and 30. There is a certain grandeur in many of his compositions,

and his Madonnas are graceful. But with him begins the decline of the native-born miniaturists. By the middle of the fifteenth century, foreign artists from Modena, Parma, Ferrara, Tuscany, and even from Germany were working in Bologna. The fine choral books in the Museo di San Petronio were illuminated by Martino di Giorgio da Modena.

We may consider Franco as the founder of the first school of painting in Bologna. His best pupils were: Vitale, named "dalle Madonne," his pictures being mostly of the Madonna; Simone, surnamed dei Crocifissi, because he painted so many crucifixes; Lorenzo and Cristoforo. The most gifted of these pupils of Franco Bolognese was Jacopo d'Avanzi, whose work may be studied in the Accademia, and in the little church at Mezzaratta. Sometimes he painted in conjunction with Simone, and Malvasia found their joint signatures below some of the Mezzaratta frescoes. Pictures by these artists, with the exception of Lorenzo and Cristoforo, are to be found in the Pinacoteca of Bologna.

Besides the many known names of artists which are found in the Archives and in legal documents, there are many nameless pictures and frescoes of great artistic value, and clearly the work of artists of early date.

The Museo of S. Stefano is very seldom visited, and it is by no means easy of access. The entré is often limited by the caprice of the "custode." But it contains a few very interesting pictures by

"STRAGE DEGLI INNOCENTI"

Fresco from S. Sepolcro, now in the Museo di San Stefano

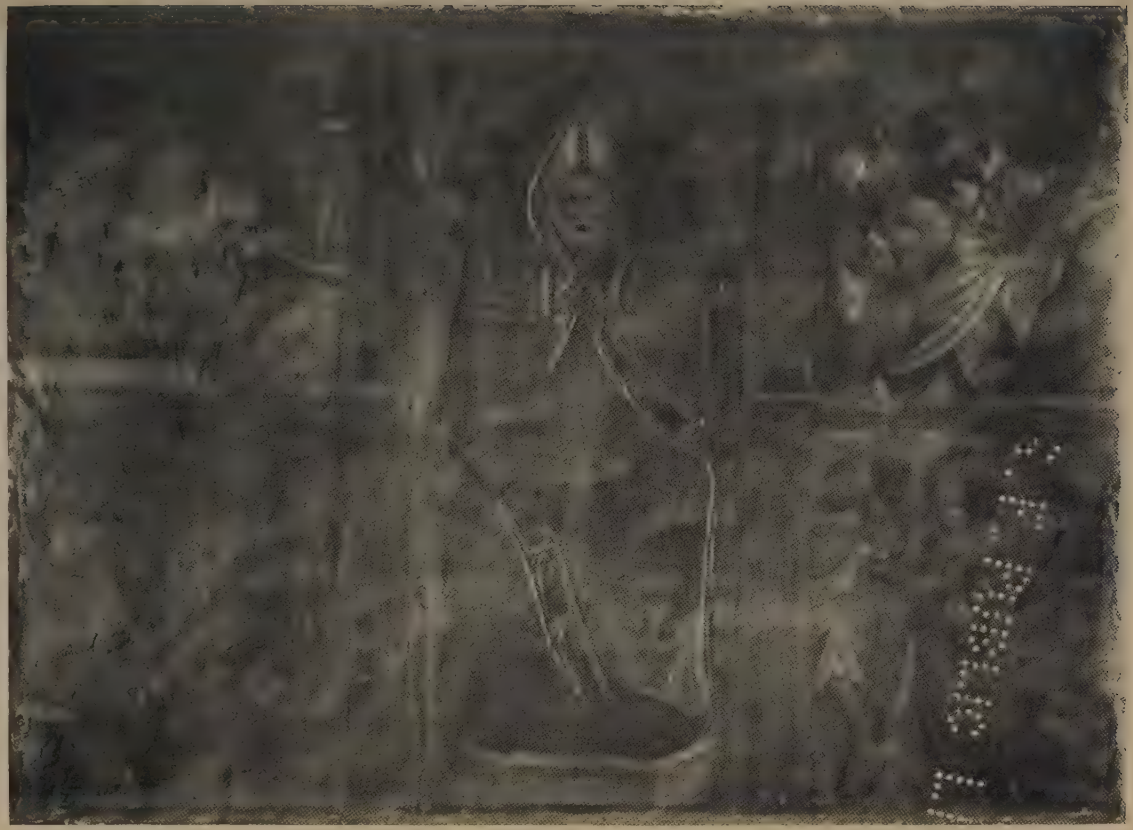
early Bolognese artists. Here is the largest fragment that remains of the great fresco that covered the walls of the church of S. Sepolcro. Lanzi calls these frescoes "the greatest monument, and the most unique that Bologna preserves in painting." "The Massacre of the Innocents," in the little upper room called the Museo di S. Stefano, is the one subject that remains out of the many. Other smaller fragments are preserved under glass in the Cortile di Pilato, and there are some heads which have been transferred to the wall of the church in the same S. Stefano group called "la Consolazione." These fresco remains belong to the art which Corrado Ricci designates as "Pittura Romanica." There are certain Byzantine characteristics in this art; but it is not merely Byzantine. We get some light on the early art of Bologna by considering the possibility of its connection with the art of Ravenna and the art that developed in Romagna as a whole. The art of Ravenna is not merely Eastern: we find in it some characteristics contributed by the native Italian genius. This has been recognized in the term "greco-italiano" for the school that links the early art of Rome with the art of the fourteenth century. As in what remains at Ravenna, so in the little that has been preserved in Bologna, the characteristics that were derived from the declining art of Rome predominated over those owed to the influence of purely Byzantine art. Positive evidence of the exact date of these frescoes which formerly decorated the

walls of the church of S. Sepolcro has not been found. But they can hardly be later than the thirteenth century. They were still on the walls for which they were originally designed when Lanzi visited the church towards the close of the eighteenth century. They should be compared with the remains of twelfth century mosaic from the old Duomo of Ravenna, and with the pavement mosaic dated 1213 now in a room adjoining the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista in the same city. The subject of this mosaic is of unique importance, as it represents incidents of the Third Crusade.

Another very interesting picture in the Museo is the S. Petronio, with two small subject pictures on either side of him. The two upper ones are incidents from his own life; the two lower ones show St Stephen teaching and arguing, and the stoning of St Stephen. The S. Petronio is a grand and stately figure; he holds the city of Bologna in his right hand. Clearly this is later work than the wall frescoes. Its characteristics suggest a good fourteenth century artist; but we have no proof of date. Like the frescoes, this comes from the church of S. Sepolcro. Oretti, writing in 1767, says: "On the other side of the altar, formerly 'de' Santi,' the S. Petronio and the stories of his life in the wall, are also very good indeed." *

Another treasure of the "greco-italiano" art is the "crocefisso in tavola" in the church of the

* "Pitture nelle Chiese della Citta di Bologna," descritte da Marcello Oretti nell' Anno 1767. MS. "Bib. Com." 30.



S. PETRONIO

A picture formerly in the church of S. Sepolcro

Madonna di Borgo. It was formerly in the church of S. Francesco. This crucifix is still held in great veneration.

There are many little pictures of the "greco-italiano" period in Corridor VI of the Pinacoteca. The official catalogue marks them as "Maniera Greca." In the church of S^{a} Maria della Purificazione, or della Mascarella, are some remains of paintings believed to be portraits of the first "Frati" of St Dominic, and work of the thirteenth century. There is much character in the faces, and it is art well worthy of careful study.

In the Museo Civico (No. 190) there is a crucifix dating from the end of the thirteenth century. We may note the green shadows and the drapery as characteristic of the art of that period. There are frescoes in the niches under the "portici" at the side of S. Giacomo Maggiore, and Corrado Ricci, who saw these pictures when they were uncovered, is of opinion that some of them are of the "pittura Romanica" date. But they have been walled up again, so at present we have no means of judging. One only has been left open, and the little that can be distinguished in its sadly perished remains indicates the art of a slightly later date. A claim has been made for a date as early as this period of the "pittura Romanica" for a very interesting altar picture in the church of S. Salvatore. There has been controversy on the subject, but the study of the picture itself leads to the conclusion that it cannot be of earlier date than the four-

teenth century. It is really very fine early art. Giuseppe G. Roncagli, in a very able article, says the picture was probably already on the altar of the Abbey of S^{a} Maria di Reno, when the church was consecrated in 1220 or 1221. The Canons Regular of S^{a} Maria di Reno were induced by the troubles of pestilence and war to migrate to Bologna, where they founded the church of S. Salvatore about 1340. It is said that they brought this altar picture with them, and that in inventories made at the time it is spoken of as "antica." If this is the picture referred to by Oretti as the Madonna della Pace, he ascribes to it the date 1083.* The frame as well as the picture is interesting, and its design supports the suggested date—fourteenth century—for the work. It is now fixed into the east wall of the south transept.

The central compartment represents the coronation of the Virgin. There is much sweetness and grace in both the figures: it is essentially a devotional picture. To the right of this, in a trefoiled lancet compartment, is St Augustine with his right hand—in sign of protection—on the shoulder of a Canon "renano." Corresponding to this on the other side is St John the Baptist, with a child at his feet. In the round-arched compartments on the right are: the birth of our Saviour (the Virgin is pourtrayed with singular sweetness and grace); and below, a saint in pastoral garb conversing with

* "Pitture nelle Chiese di Bologna." M. Oretti, 1767. MS. "Bib. Com." 30.

ANCIENT ANCONA IN THE CHURCH OF S. SALVATORE

a modest and noble-looking maiden. These are probably St Benedict and St Scolastica. The two compartments on the left of the central one are: the martyrdom of St Catherine, and below, two bishops.

Who painted this beautiful ancona? It does not seem possible to answer this question with any certainty from the evidence at present at our disposal. Renato Baldani points to the unusual fineness of execution in a picture by Simone dei Crocifissi in the Galleria Estense at Modena—the Virgin and Child enthroned. He founds on a comparison with this an attribution of the ancona to Simone. Certainly anyone who examines all Simone's pictures in Bologna will not think this ancona with its grace and tenderness is by the same hand. We may compare Simone's treatment of the same subject in his great altar picture (No. 474) in the Pinacoteca of Bologna. This is clearly signed, as Simone's pictures mostly are. A recent suggestion is that Cristoforo is the artist of our ancona, and it would be very satisfactory if this could be proved. No pictures by this artist are known to exist now in Bologna, though several are mentioned by Malvasia, and he distinctly states that one of them was signed.[1] There are two little pictures by Cristoforo in Room III of the Pinacoteca at Ferrara. He has been wrongly entitled "da Ferrara" and also "da Modena": he was undoubtedly Bolognese by birth, and he belongs to the Bolognese school.

The earliest known picture by Vitale is the " tempera " picture of the Madonna seated on a throne, holding the Child standing upright on her knees. This is now in the Pinacoteca of Bologna (Corridoio N. 6, No. 203). It was painted for the church of the Madonna del Monte, and, as the inscription tells, on the commission of Donna Blaxia. Malvasia saw it still in the church, and describes it. It is signed " Vitalis de Bononia fecit anno MCCCXX." The authenticity of the date has been questioned, and an alteration suggested. But there seems no reason for this. The date it now bears is the same as was noted by Malvasia when he examined it in its original home. And that date is not inconsistent with the fact that we find " Magister Vitale pintor de quarterio porte Sterii, de capella sancte Marie Maioris " inscribed in the " ventiquinquene " of 1357, and again as " Magister Vidalle Agnii pictor " in those of 1359. Baldani claims for Vitale a likeness to the Sienese school in the " espressione di dolcezza pensosa e melanconica." But his design and colouring are quite unlike the work of the Sienese masters. In his delicate technique and careful exactitude in details we may trace his derivation from the school of miniaturists. There are other unsigned pictures in Bologna attributed to Vitale, which are doubtless his work. There is a picture signed by him in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican : but it has no date. It represents the Virgin and Child, worshipped by the " Battuti " of S^{a} Maria della Vita.

Very many are the crucifixes signed by Simone to be seen in Bologna. Specially fine is the one painted on wood which hangs in the Cari chapel of S. Giacomo Maggiore; it bears the date 1370. Another fine one is in the Museo di S. Stefano.

There are many altar pieces and little pictures by Simone in the Pinacoteca. The most important are: the fine ancona (Corridoio 6, No. 474) representing the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin and many saints. It is signed "Simon de Bononia fecit hoc opus." The other picture of special interest is the portrait of Pope Urban V. Urban was Pope from 1362 to 1370, so the picture has all the value of a contemporary portrait; and the face has a real character in it.

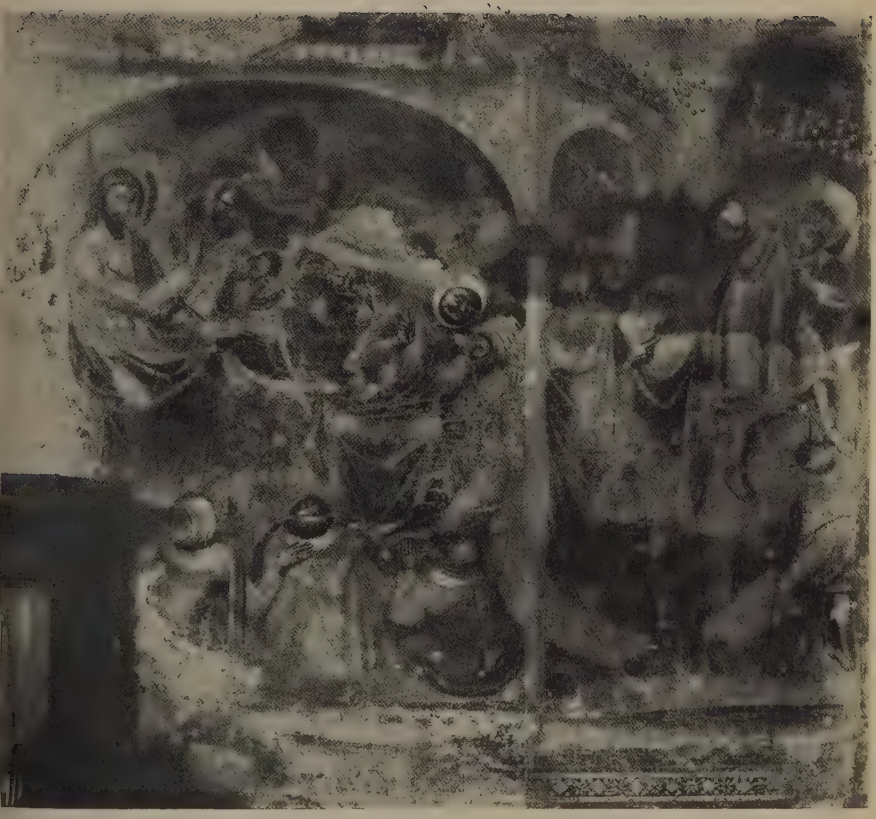
In the Pinacoteca of Bologna only three pictures are attributed by the catalogue to Jacopo Avanzi. But three others attributed to Simone (170, 363 and 364) are probably his, as are also several that the catalogue only marks as "ignoto autore," or "scuola bolognese." Both Vasari and Malvasia confuse our Jacopo Avanzi with the Avanzo of Verona, who painted in his own city, and also in Padua in conjunction with Altichiero da Zelvio. Malvasia also merged in him the identity of the Bolognese Jacopo di Paolo, a greatly inferior artist, but interesting from his artistic pedigree, which can be traced back in the archives of law documents to his great-grandfather, "Orso pictor di Regio."

In his smaller pictures Jacopo Avanzi shows his kinship to the miniaturists in the minuteness and

delicacy of his work. His two fine anconas in the Pinacoteca are interesting for his unique treatment of some of the subjects. In No. 159 we have St Gregory in company with four other persons praying over the tomb of the Emperor Trajan, as one of the saintly episodes among scenes from the life of Christ and of the Madonna. Observe how two angels carry up the redeemed soul to heaven. The picture (No. 744) the Coronation of the Virgin, has a quite harmonious sweetness. There is a picture by our artist in the Colonna Gallery in Rome, signed " Jacobus de Avanciis de bononia (f.)."

But Jacopo Avanzi did work also in a bolder style than these pictures, and in this he showed the influence of the " maestri romagnoli." The finest frescoes that remain by Avanzi are in the little church of S^a^ Apollonia at Mezzaratta. This little church, built at the beginning of the twelfth century, on the slope of the hill just outside the Porta d' Azeglio, now forms part of the villa belonging to the widow of the great statesman—Minghetti. It was he who had the fine series of frescoes cared for and preserved from further ruin. Two of the most interesting on the left wall on entering are: " Christ Healing the Sick," and " The Pool of Bethesda." The signature " Jacobus fecit " is clearly legible under the latter.

The series on the opposite wall from the life of Joseph is said to show the signature of Jacopo di Paolo. Cristoforo also worked in this little church, but his pictures have perished. The marriage at

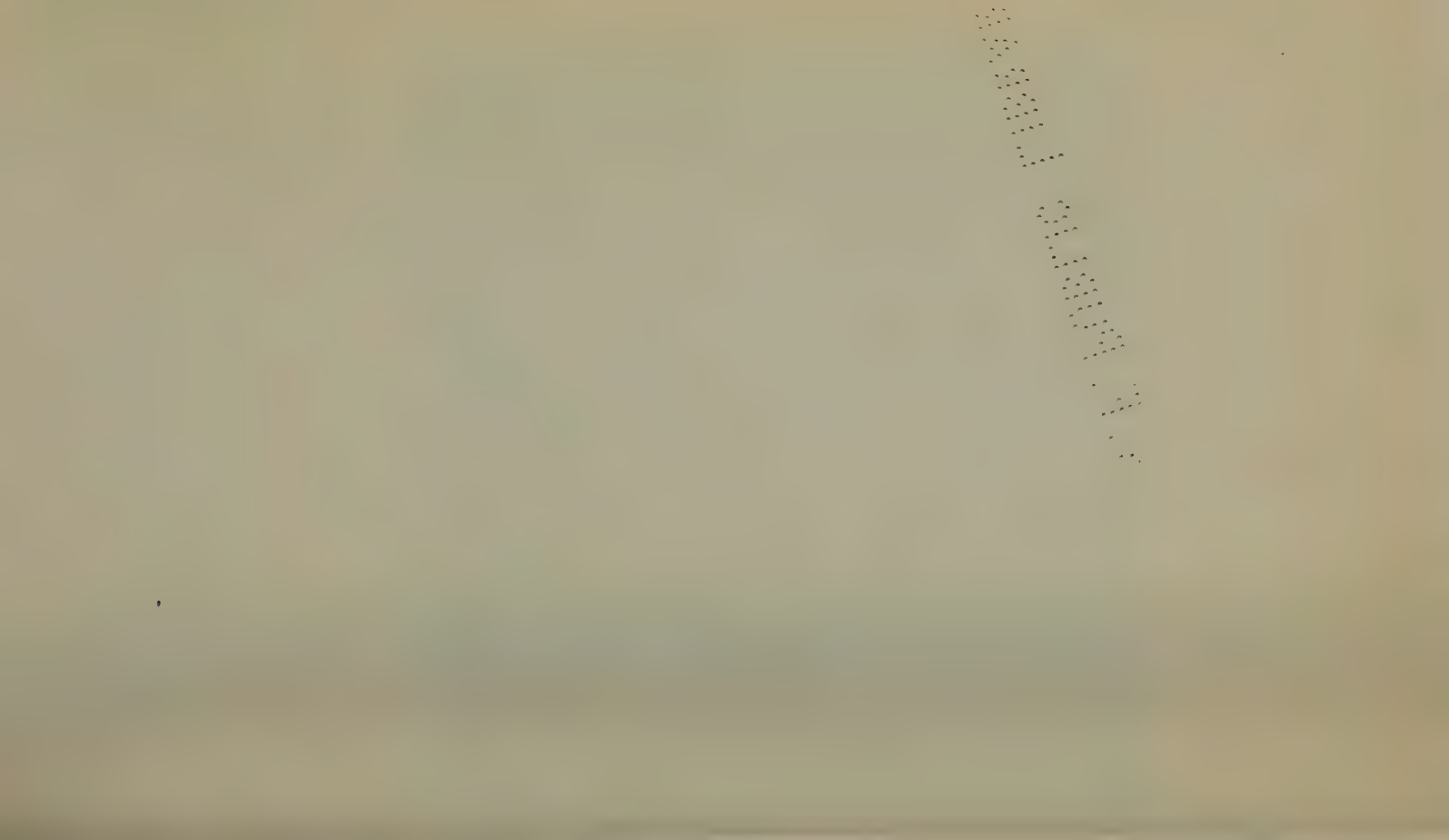


CHRIST HEALING THE SICK

Fresco in S^{a} Apollonia, Mezzaratta

THE "PISCINA PROBATICA" OR POOL OF BETHESDA

Fresco in Sa Apollonia, Mezzaratta



THE TRINITY

Fresco in the cloisters of San Domenico

the far end of the wall in the lowest line is a later work and shows Ferrarese characteristics. The "Presepio" over the entrance wall is by Vitale.[2]

There are some interesting remains of fresco in the cloisters of S. Domenico that are now used as playground and drilling ground for the elementary schools. Malvasia mentions that both Simone and Cristoforo painted on these cloister walls. The only evidence of name that we have is the "Petrus" signed beneath the fresco of the Trinity. Unfortunately these frescoes are disappearing under the influence of the "ragazzo" and the elements at play.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT PAINTERS OF BOLOGNA

" Francia Felsineo Orafo, e Pittore
Tanto fu singolar, ch'ogni sua opra
Fra l'altre tutte ste'sempre di sopra
Onde acquistò con l'utile l'onore."—CASIO.

LIPPO DALMASIO is one of the very few of the early Bolognese painters generally known to the outside world : but he has not been accorded the credit he deserves. This probably arises from the fact that his best pictures remaining in the churches for which they were painted are in such very bad lights that it is most difficult to see them at all, and also from the fact that even the highest authorities have overlooked the very finest of his paintings. It is in Bologna, but it is not where Corrado Ricci in his guide-book states that it is to be found. It can be seen only by the courteous permission of the " Amministrazione delle scuole pie " in the office of their secretary in the via Castiglione.

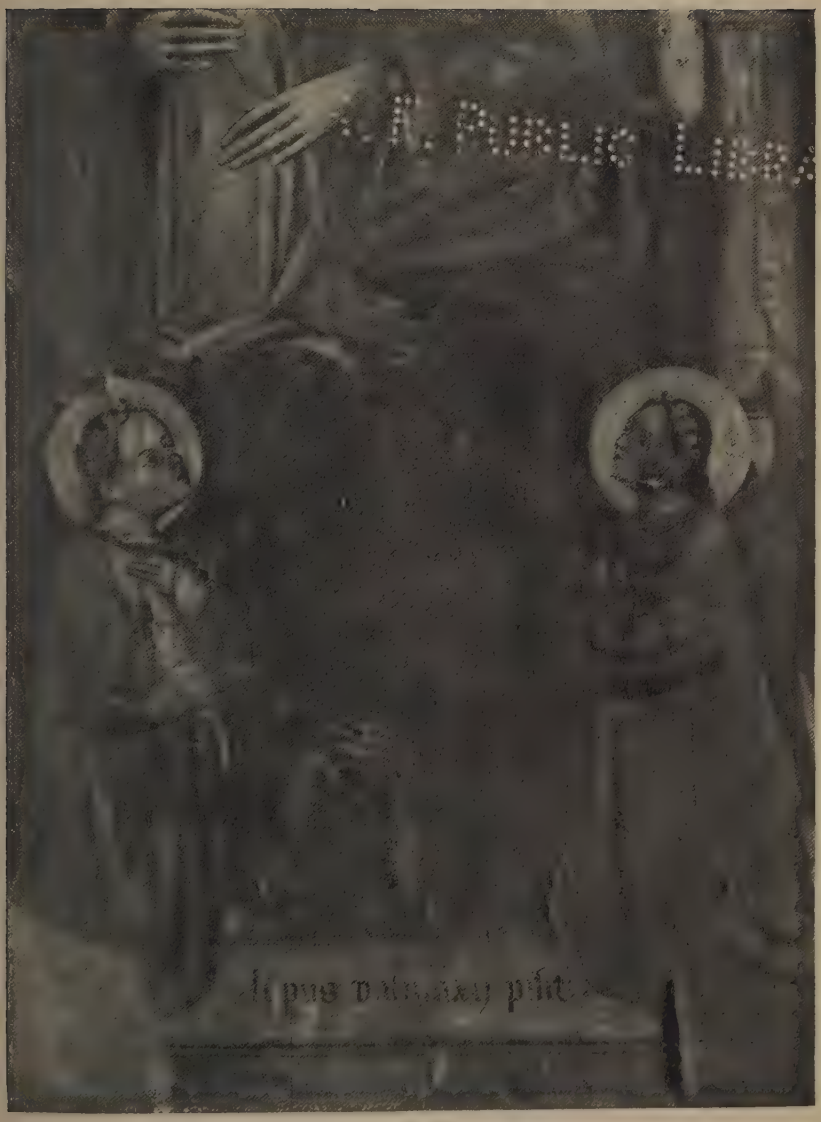
The date of the birth of Lippo Dalmasio has not been ascertained. He was the son of Dalmasio of the noble house of the Scanabecchi, himself also an artist and born probably about 1325. The

earliest picture by Lippo Dalmasio with a date is the one which Malvasia mentions that he painted in 1376 for the church of S[a] Maria di Borgo Panicale. This is not inconsistent with the tradition that he was the pupil of Vitale dalle Madonne. Like Vitale, his favourite subject was the Madonna and Child, but when he added saints or angels to his pictures he put a good deal of individual character into the faces. Still it was as the sympathetic artist of the Madonna that he became famous. Lippo painted with the impulse of religious sentiment. He was wont to prepare himself for the commencement of his works by fasting and vigil, followed by receiving the Sacrament in the morning. His Madonnas were highly valued in Rome as well as in Bologna, and Popes distinguished them with special approval. Gregory XIII had in his bedroom a Madonna painted by Lippo which was the object of his special devotion. It is this Madonna which is still in the Vatican. Clement XIII conferred the privilege of special indulgences on worshippers of the Madonna painted by Lippo in the lunette above the principal door of the church of S. Procolo. Guido Reni was a special admirer of Lippo's Madonnas, and he spoke with warm appreciation of the purity, grace and modesty to be traced in their expression. We have in fact a very beautiful and distinctive type. And making allowance for the advance in technique that the experience of over 100 years should bring, we may readily trace in some of Raphael's Madonnas the influence of that type.

There is a very interesting Madonna and Child by Lippo Dalmasio in the National Gallery in London (No. 752). They are represented in a glory of light. The Madonna has a sweet face, and the attitudes are natural. The Child looks up lovingly into his Mother's face, and puts up his hand in the caressing way that has been remarked in some of Raphael's pictures. There is natural life-like animation in the expressions of the angel faces that emerge from the clouds that half conceal their forms on either side of the Madonna. The miniaturist's detail appears in the trimming of the Virgin's dress, and in the little flowers that strew the ground.

In the fine ancona that belonged to the Collegio di S^{a} Croce we have the beautifully graceful Madonna enthroned with the Child.[1] In the two wing panels of the triptych we have stately figures of S. Petronio, St Peter, St Paul and St John the Baptist, the faces showing considerable power in portraiture.

The question of the earliest origin of painting in oils cannot be settled as a side issue in a book concerned with many other things. But it is worth while to consider Dalmasio's claim to the practice of oil painting at a date so much earlier than Antonello da Messina and the Flemish van Eyck. Malvasia distinctly makes the claim for Lippo Dalmasio, and the point can only be settled by the careful examination of all his known work. Lippo Dalmasio made his will in 1410, and it is probable



ANGELS FROM THE TRIPTYCH

By Lippo Dalmasio, formerly in S^{a} Croce ; with signature

that he died very soon after. Certainly the latest date Malvasia gives for one of his pictures is 1409; and that is the one painted for the church of Ceredolo. So highly was Lippo's work esteemed while he lived that it is said that no gentleman of Bologna thought his house complete without one of his frescoed Madonnas, or at least some small picture by his hand.

Several artists are counted as the pupils of Lippo Dalmasio, and among them the saint,—Caterina de' Vigri. In her case the artistic influence can only have been indirect, as she was not born till 1413.

Much of the early fifteenth century art in Bologna was poor. Some of the artists at this time were feeble and without originality; they fell back into the Byzantine style, influenced by an influx of pictures of the Madonna from Constantinople, which by their popularity perverted the taste of the citizens. But three names stand out on a quite different level and carry on the tradition of true Bolognese art to the time of Francia: Michele di Matteo Lambertini, Bonbologno, and Marco Zoppo.

Michele di Matteo bears a name distinguished in early Bolognese history, and still distinguished in the eighteenth century when a Lambertini ruled in Rome as Pope Benedict XIV. Of the pictures in the Pinacoteca ascribed to him one is distinctly signed, and bears the date 1462. But these pictures give not the smallest idea of the capacity of the

artist, and thus his real importance has been missed. An expedition to the Badia of Nonantola must be made to learn how great an artist Michele Lambertini really was. And a delightful expedition it is, and most interesting in many ways. There in one of the eastern chapels of the grand old Lombard Badia is a very fine "ancona," the best work of Michele di Matteo Lambertini. And though artist and altar picture seem to have been forgotten, it is a quite well authenticated picture,—the archives of the Badia give documentary proof of the name of the artist, the date of the work and of many interesting details of cost. Its Bolognese origin is clearly established by the entry recording the payment of three lire (of Modena) to the three "facchini" who carried the picture on their shoulders all the way from Bologna to Nonantola "in order that it should not be injured by being carried in a cart or otherwise." This entry in the accounts is under date April 1460, and as we see the particulars are exact and clear. The payment to the artist himself—to "Messer Michelle depentore che sta in la contra de borgo novo in Bologna" was 90 lire, to which contract price there was eventually added by voluntary agreement the sum of 2 lire on account of an increase in the cost of gold, of which a large amount was used in the painting of the ancona.[2] The whole cost, according to the Abbey accounts, was 112 lire 12 soldi (di Modena), in modern Italian money equivalent to about L.477.6c. The commission to Michele to paint the

picture was due to the Abbot Galeazzo Pepoli of the noble and famous house of the Pepoli of Bologna.

But although this is Michele Lambertini's *chef d'œuvre*, there is good reason for believing that a smaller but beautifully painted ancona in a chapel in S. Martino Maggiore at Bologna is also his work. Malvasia mentions an altar picture by Michele as on the altar " già de' signori Renghieri " in S. Martino. The little chapel in which this ancona is preserved is at the east end of the church close to the door of the sacristy—above which is the bust of Valerio Ringhieri. It is most probable that careful search in the churches of the many little townships in the country around Bologna would reveal more altar pictures by this gifted artist. It is evident from the statement of Malvasia that works by Michele Lambertini were known in his day that at present have long been overlooked, pictures which induced Albani and Gio. Andrea Sirani to regard him as in many respects quite the equal of Francia.

Marco Zoppo, though often counted among the pupils of Dalmasio, must have been very young at the time of that master's death. He certainly did not gain his artistic training solely in the schools of Bologna. Vasari mentions him as working with distinction in the school of Squarcione in Padua, and as influencing and stimulating the young Mantegna, who was at that time a pupil in that school. A certain hardness of outline, exaggeration

in anatomy, and stiffness in drapery in much of Zoppo's work show the influence of the school of Squarcione on his development.

The Pinacoteca at Bologna has only one of his pictures, a small one rather finely painted. His strength is best seen in the fine altar pictures in the sacristy of the Spanish College, and in the 10th chapel on the west or right-hand side of S. Petronio. There is also a crucifix on wood painted by Marco Zoppo in the sacristy of the church of S. Giuseppe.

The University Galleries at Oxford have a half-length figure of St Paul, which though small shows the quality of Zoppo's work far better than the little picture in the National Gallery in London. Malvasia mentions other pictures of his in Bologna, and one sent to Pesaro for the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista; his authority for this and for the assertion that there were paintings by Zoppo in Padua is Vasari. Malvasia and Calvi tell us that Zoppo had a share in the art training of Francia, the assertion by Calvi being in connection with the art of engraving. He says that engravings by Zoppo remain, and that he learnt the art from Squarcione.

There is no clear evidence of the influence of Zoppo on Francia, and he certainly developed many qualities and a grace and depth of feeling not to be found in the work of the earlier master. But all art is in a greater or less degree influenced by the art that has been before. Sometimes the

ANCONA BY MICHELE DI MATTEO LAMBERTINI

In the Badia of Nonantola

influence is direct,—as when a young artist learns in the studio of a great artist who has been working before him. Sometimes the influence is indirect,—as when the young artist knows his great predecessor through the work of those who have learnt from him. But in this case he will probably also know some works by the great master. Whether Francia ever worked as a pupil in the studio of Zoppo or not, it is probable that at least some of the influence of the earlier Bolognese schools of art was transmitted through him to the greatest artist Bologna ever produced.

In 1470 Francesco Cossa came from Ferrara and settled in Bologna. He was followed about 1483 by Lorenzo Costa. Both these artists painted many pictures and frescoes in Bologna, and they brought the influence of the Ferrarese school of painting into the art of Bologna. Some of these pictures are still in the churches for which they were painted, and some are in the Accademia. The frescoes in the magnificent Bentivoglio Palace perished when that fine building was destroyed in 1507.

If we remember the pictures by Cristoforo at Ferrara, we shall see the possibility of earlier influence in the other direction, that is the possibility of Bolognese influence on the earlier development of art in Ferrara.

Lorenzo Costa was born in 1460: he was the most distinguished of the pupils of Cosimo Tura, and he may also have learnt from Ercole Roberti

de' Grandi. His earlier work too shows the influence of Cossa. He was only twenty-three years of age when he came to Bologna, and began work in a studio in the same house in which Francia was established on the floor below working at his goldsmith's art. The two artists became friends, and it is interesting to trace their mutual influence one on the other. It has been asserted that Francia was Costa's pupil: but this hardly seems likely, as he was so much the older man. Others have claimed that Costa was Francia's pupil: but for this, again, there is no evidence. Of their close friendship there are many traces and the evidence of Francia's own note-book; some pictures they painted together, as in the case of the altar-piece in the church of S^{a} Maria della Misercordia. The centre part painted by Francia is now in the Accademia at Bologna, the upper part, by Costa, Christ between the Virgin and an Angel, is still in its place in the church, and the predella by Costa is at the Brera in Milan. The finest of Costa's pictures in Bologna is the beautiful altar-piece in one of the chapels of S. Giovanni in Monte. It was painted in 1496–97. The Virgin and Child enthroned with St John and St Augustine below on the right of the Virgin, and St Francis of Assisi and S. Possidonio on her left. The exquisite little angels making music at the foot of the throne remind us of those we meet with in Francia's pictures. They show that the two artists drew their inspirations from the same sources; there is a like innocent grace in the children of

both. The lovely little Umbrian landscape with its soft clear atmosphere is another link. Costa's landscapes are among the most beautiful that were painted in his time. Though the colouring is poor in some of his pictures, at his best he could equal Francia; and he was stronger in imagination than Perugino, and at times almost equalled Francia in this capacity. After the fall of the Bentivoglio, the Gonzagas, who had lost their great painter Mantegna in 1506, invited Costa to take his place, and he settled in Mantua in 1509. He achieved important work there, and died in 1536.

There are four pictures by Costa in the Pinacoteca at Bologna; but finer than these is the picture over the high altar in S. Giovanni in Monte. There is a beautiful expanse of landscape; the figures are graceful, and there is a fine effect of atmosphere and distance.[3]

The greatest artist of the Bolognese school, and wholly belonging to it, was Francesco Raibolini, more generally known as Franco Francia. He was born in Bologna about 1450. His father was Marco di Giacomo Raibolini, who, though not wealthy, was an honoured citizen, and held important offices in the Commune. Members of his family had served the State in distinguished positions, as is proved by the records of many generations. There are documents that show that the family held possessions in the Commune of Zola Predosa from quite the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Marco Raibolini was inscribed in the matricola of the Guild of the "falegnami" or carpenters, a Guild which at that time counted among its members men belonging to many distinguished families. Vasari gives a pleasing description of Francesco. His bright good humour attracted at once, and he had many friends. The Raibolini family lived in the parish of S. Nicolo di S. Felice; various documents prove this fact. The church of S. Nicolo is in the via Aurelio Saffi (formerly S. Felice) close to the Badia on the site of the earliest Duomo of Bologna.

Francia's home must therefore have been quite near to the Hotel Brun. The youth entered the workshop of a clever goldsmith named Duc to learn the art of working in metals, and he seems to have taken the name of Francia from his master, that being the name by which Duc was generally called. There is no evidence that Francia ever left his native city to come under the influence of any other school of art. All the evidence goes to show that from his earliest years he was very busily engaged at home in the various arts in which he excelled. He matriculated in the Goldsmith's Guild in 1482, and in 1483 he was Master of the Guild, and by the rules of the Guild he cannot have been less than thirty years of age at that date. He was an excellent workman, and his skill had soon become known, not only in Bologna, for his works were also spoken of with admiration in Florence, Mantua and Parma. Two specimens of Francia's

FACSIMILE OF THE ILLUMINATION AT THE HEAD OF THE "STATUTI DEI FALEGNAMI"
OR CARPENTERS FOR THE YEAR 1248

work as a goldsmith, fairly well authenticated, are in the Accademia di Belle Arti at Bologna: the two "paci" of niello work. Such "paci," or perhaps they might more properly be called "anconetti" or "maiestati," were frequently given as wedding gifts. It has been suggested that the one representing the Crucifixion was designed as a wedding gift from Giovanni Bentivoglio to his bride Ginevra Sforza. In the spandrils above the arch are the arms of the Bentivoglio and Sforza families. But at the time of Giovanni's wedding, Francia would have been a lad of fourteen, so that it seems more probable that he executed the work for the marriage of Giovanni's son Alessandro with Ippolita Sforza in 1492. The smaller "pace" with "the Resurrection," has on either side of its frame the arms of the Ringhieri and Felicini families. It is less fine in design and execution than the other.

Closely connected with this niello work is the question of Francia's work as an engraver. More than one of the pupils in the school of Squarcione made beginnings in the art of engraving in copper. There are certain prints that there is good reason for believing to be the work of Marco Zoppo. Andrea Mantegna engraved some of his own pictures; both Vasari and Calvi mention the fact. A print that exists in the Albertinium Museum at Vienna was evidently taken direct from Francia's niello of the Crucifixion. The design and execution of a very rare engraving of the Baptism of Christ

and its resemblance to a picture by Francia in Dresden have induced the best critics to attribute the engraving to Francia. Other engravings exist which are thought to be his work, and Masini in his "Bologna Perlustrata" calls Francia "incisore famoso."

As a medallist Francia was most highly distinguished, and his work rivals that of Caradosso. His medals of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, of Pope Julius II and of Pope Clement VII are among the finest specimens of the art. Francia took great pleasure in coin making. He was appointed director of the Mint by Giovanni II, and continued in that office under the Popes Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII. A few of his coins may be seen in the Museo Civico.

Another department of Francia's artistic activity is shown in the splendid shield—the Targa Bentivolesca—preserved in the Palazzo Rodriguez. It is not a specimen of metal work, as asserted by a recent writer on Francia; the magnificent design has been executed on specially prepared parchment, and is mounted on an oval and extremely convex shield of wood. The inner surface of the shield was also covered with parchment, and we see the remains of the bands of leather straps by which the shield was attached to the arm. It is one of the shields used in the "feste solenni" and the knightly displays so frequent in the fifteenth century. The shield has an interesting history. At the time when Count Gozzadini wrote his learned

article about it, the "targa" was in the collection of Count Aria. It has since been given back to the Marchese Rodriguez, on whose property it had been found, after being hidden in a barn for 150 years. The ancestor of the Marchese was a gentleman of the Court of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, and he probably saved this shield from the general destruction of the art treasures of the Bentivoglio palace and carried it to his country property, a few miles out of Bologna.

Though the work of the pen and the brush, and not of the goldsmith's tools, it is very fine art, and there is good reason for believing it to be the work of Francia's hand. There is wonderful spirit and precision in the drawing. We know that Francia designed and painted the splendid trappings for these knightly shows from the account that Vasari gives of the "barde" that he painted for Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino. The Duke was delighted with this work, and his gratitude was both warmly expressed and practical. The knight on the shield probably represents St George, and he is slaying a quite ferocious looking dragon. The shield borne by the knight displays the Bentivoglio arms, and in this an important point of date arises. The "targa" must have been designed and painted earlier than 1494, for in that year the Emperor Maximilian conferred on the Bentivoglio family the right to bear the black Imperial eagle in their arms, and from that date we always find the eagle quartered with the "sega." The letters of the inscription

on the border of the shield are of burnished gold, edged with red, on a ground of granite gold. With much gold also in the central design, the shield must have flashed brilliantly in the sunshine when carried in stately processions. It has been suggested that the Scriptural texts chosen for the inscription have reference to Giovanni's escape from the conspiracy of the Malvezzi.

It is impossible to discover when and in what manner Francia was induced to turn his attention to painting. Mr. Williamson is of opinion that the little picture of the Crucifixion, now in the Museo Civico, Bologna, is the earliest one by his hand that remains to us. There is a sharpness of line in its fine detail suggestive of the "niello" artist and engraver. Other early pictures are the Madonna and Child in the Berlin Gallery and the St Stephen of the Borghese Gallery in Rome. The earliest of Francia's pictures signed and dated is the beautiful "Felicini" altar-piece now in the Accademia at Bologna. Its soft rich colouring and peaceful atmosphere have a special charm. It was painted for an altar of the Church of the Misericordia just outside the Porta Castiglione. The kneeling figure beside St Sebastian is the donor Messer Bartolommeo Felicini, a wealthy citizen. The other saints are St Francis and St Procolo (the soldier patron of Bologna), and on the right of the Madonna St Augustine, St Monica, and St John the Baptist. The picture is signed "opus Franciae aurificis." The date is 1494, though the lines of

SAN GIACOMO MAGGIORE

the four are very indistinct. The signature as "goldsmith" is often found on Francia's pictures, and Fra Leandro Alberti mentions that he signed his goldsmith's work as "Francia Pictor." This statement points to the probability that Francia began his career as a painter rather earlier than is commonly supposed, in fact that he was working at both arts at the same time.

There are several other pictures by Francia in the Accademia, including the beautiful "Annunciation" from the Oratorio di S. Girolamo di Miramonte; a very original treatment of the subject. Also the Manzuoli altar-piece, commissioned by a lady of that family; of the angel in which picture Vasari observes "che tiene le mane giunte con tanta grazia, che par proprio di Paradiso." And indeed this is true of many of Francia's angels.

The most important of Francia's pictures in Bologna is the fine altar-piece that he painted for the Bentivoglio chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore, in 1499. It was commissioned by Giovanni Bentivoglio, and the contract stipulated that the portraits of two of Giovanni's children should appear in the picture. We see them in the angels on either side of the Madonna. Beside St Augustine is a warrior saint: he may be S. Floriano, who was a "protettore" of Bologna, or the soldier S. Procolo. The saints on the other side of the Madonna and Child are St John and St Sebastian. The picture is a most beautiful one, and the central figure of the Child

is very lovely. A perfectly restrained religious feeling pervades the whole, and the saintly figures are very dignified. Perfection in detail of design and in finish are there, but they are finely subordinated to the greater qualities of the picture as a whole: they do not disturb the mind, but only complete the restful feeling of a truly great work.

Two fine frescoes remain to show what Francia could do in that department of the painter's art. All the others that he executed for his princely patron—Giovanni Bentivoglio—perished when his splendid palace was destroyed by the blind fury of the populace. It is in speaking of these frescoes that Vasari tells how much Francia was honoured and appreciated in his native city, both by the princely family whose love and gratitude he had won, and by his fellow-citizens. And again later, in telling of fresco work which Francia executed in other palaces of the nobles, Vasari adds: "Le quali opere tutte insieme gli avevano recato una riverenza in quella città, che v'era tenuto come un Dio." It was no light matter for Vasari to speak so strongly of the worth and the fame of a great artist belonging to a rival city, an artist in whose evolution he could claim no credit for his own Florentine school of art. The fame of Francia must have been well established and universally known in his own day and in the times immediately succeeding him. And indeed these frescoes in the little Bentivoglio chapel of St Cecilia, though

Poppi, photo

ALTAR PICTURE BY FRANCIA

BENTIVOGLIO CHAPEL, SAN GIACOMO MAGGIORE

damaged, clearly show the capacity of the artist. It is the two pictures nearest to the altar on either side that are by Francia himself; the rest are by Costa and by Francia's pupils, the whole having been executed under Francia's direction. Francia's two subjects are "The Marriage of St Cecilia" and the burial of the saint. They are very beautiful in design and execution, and very graceful. In connection with this fresco work it is worth considering whether the frescoed Annunciation in the Marsili Chapel of S. Petronio, though usually attributed to Costa, may not be by Francia himself. Comparison with the Duke of Mantua's "Annunciation" now in the Brera at Milan, and careful study of the fresco in S. Petronio give support to this hypothesis. At present no documentary evidence on the point seems to be forthcoming.

Francia enjoyed considerable fame and popularity in his own city as a portrait painter. The National Gallery in London has a good specimen in the portrait lent by Mr. Salting. It is the portrait of Bartolomeo Bianchini, the friend for whom Francia painted the Madonna and Child now in Berlin, and a writer who pays a handsome tribute to Francia's genius in his "Life of Codro." Careful examination will probably restore to Francesco Francia many of the portraits which have been too lightly assigned to his son.

Francia has not had the consideration and credit he deserves. He cannot be rightly appreciated without seeing all his work in Bologna. Not only

the pictures collected in the Pinacoteca, but all those pictures still in the places for which they were painted in the various churches of the city must be visited.[4] Some too of his finest pictures are scattered about in Italy in places seldom visited by the ordinary tourist. His magnificent altar picture in S. Frediano at Lucca is one of his finest works, though differing in its characteristics from his best pictures in Bologna. Mr. Montgomery Carmichael's discoveries reveal a very special interest in this picture. He has restored to it its true meaning in proving that its subject is the "Immaculate Conception." The picture is very beautiful in all its details, and shows careful thought and imaginative power of the highest order. And very fine pictures are still in the churches and picture galleries of places less well known than Lucca, or Ferrara, where the Duomo possesses a very fine one—the Coronation of the Virgin.

A forgotten gem is the little picture in the Palazzo Pubblico at S. Giovanni in Persiceto. It is a half-length figure of St John the Baptist, less than life-size. Though simple and a small picture it is exquisitely painted. There is a beautiful "Nativity" in the Pinacoteca at Forli.

The influence of Francia on Raphael is a question of the very highest interest and importance. Francia presided over a very flourishing art school in Bologna. His note-books were in the possession of Raimondi, and Malvasia studied them and quoted from them. The note-books show that Francia

had some 200 pupils. Among these Timoteo Vite, of Urbino, was a special favourite with the master. Malvasia quotes three entries with respect to him of such importance that they must be given in full. Under 1490 :—

" July 8th. Timeteo Vite of Urbino taken into our workshop, the first year without payment, for the second to receive 15 florins every three months, and in the third year and following years according to agreement, and with liberty in coming and going."

Under 1491 :

" September 2nd. Accounts settled and Timeteo Vite paid as agreed. He wishes to learn painting, and is therefore placed in the room with the other pupils." (Timoteo had come to Bologna to learn the goldsmith's art.)

Under 1495 :

" April 4th. My beloved Timoteo departed. May God give him every good and good fortune." [5]

Timoteo Vite was born in 1470, and he was therefore about twenty-five when he returned to his native Urbino. Raphael was there, a lad of about twelve ; he had already lost his father. Critics have begun to realize that the early link between Timoteo Vite and Raffaello Sanzio must have been the link between master and pupil. In this connection the fine drawing in the Oxford University Galleries has a special interest. It has been considered to be the work of Raphael ; but it has also been sug-

gested that it is the portrait of Raphael as a boy; and the likeness to Raphael as pourtrayed a little later gives probability to this suggestion. But it is hardly likely that so young a boy executed such a finely drawn portrait of himself. It is not a signed drawing, and the probabilities of the case lead to the conclusion that it is the work of Timoteo, and this is the conclusion of very high authorities. A beautiful drawing it is; and if we take the authorship as established, it will help us to recover for Timoteo some others that have been attributed to Timoteo's great pupil. In recognizing the fact of the early training of Raphael by Timoteo Vite we realize the existence of a powerful influence in his artistic development which has long been overlooked. The critics who have first discovered the connection between Raphael and Timoteo have not seen the full meaning of the discovery. Timoteo had the careful training of years under Francia with the advantage of the special attention given to a favourite pupil. He was thus qualified to transmit to Raphael the influence of the art-school of Bologna. The line of artistic influence is direct, from Lippo Dalmasio, dalle Madonne, and from Vitale dalle Madonne. It will therefore be quite natural if we can trace in the Madonnas of Raphael something of the type of the Madonnas of the Bolognese masters. This influence from Bologna was not the only influence that developed the early artistic powers of Raphael, for great art existed in Urbino itself. Later other influences came in with

Raphael's studies in Perugia and in Rome. But the consideration of these earliest influences cannot be neglected in any just appreciation of the forces that contributed to the whole development of this great artist.

The later relations between Raphael and Francia himself are very pleasantly shown in a letter which is so interesting that it is worth quoting. The letter is from Raphael, and Malvasia distinctly states that it was in his possession when he compiled his book " Felsina Pittrice " just before 1678, the date of its publication.

The letter begins " M. Francesco mio caro."

" I have just received your portrait, brought to me by Bazotto in good condition, and without any injury, for which I thank you very warmly. It is most beautiful, and so lifelike, that I sometimes mistake, believing myself to be with you and to hear your words. I pray you to excuse and pardon me the delay and postponement of mine which by reason of important and incessant occupation I have not yet been able to execute with my own hand, in accordance with our agreement. I might have sent it to you done by one of my young students, and re-touched by myself, which would not have been suitable, and as may be known could not equal yours. Pray pity me, for you indeed have already proved what it is to be deprived of one's liberty, and to live under obligations to patrons. However, in the meanwhile I send you, by the same messenger who departs in return within six days, another drawing, and it is that of the Nativity,

though differing somewhat, as you will see from the finished work which you were pleased to praise so much, though done in the midst of so many other things that I blush for it, in such a manner I still do this trifle, that it may please you, rather in sign of obedience and love than for anything else. If in exchange I shall receive that of your story of Judith, I shall place it among the things that are dearest and most precious to me.

Monsignor il Datario expects your little Madonna with great anxiety, and Cardinal Riario the large one, all which you will hear more precisely from Bazotto. I, however, can look for them with that pleasure and satisfaction with which I see and praise all the others, never seeing any others more beautiful or more devout and well done than yours.

Meanwhile take courage, take care of yourself with your wonted prudence, and be assured that I feel your afflictions as if they were my own. Continue to love me as I love you with all my heart."

"Always entirely at your service,

"Your RAFFAELLE SANCIO."[6]

"ROME,

"*September 5th*, 1508."

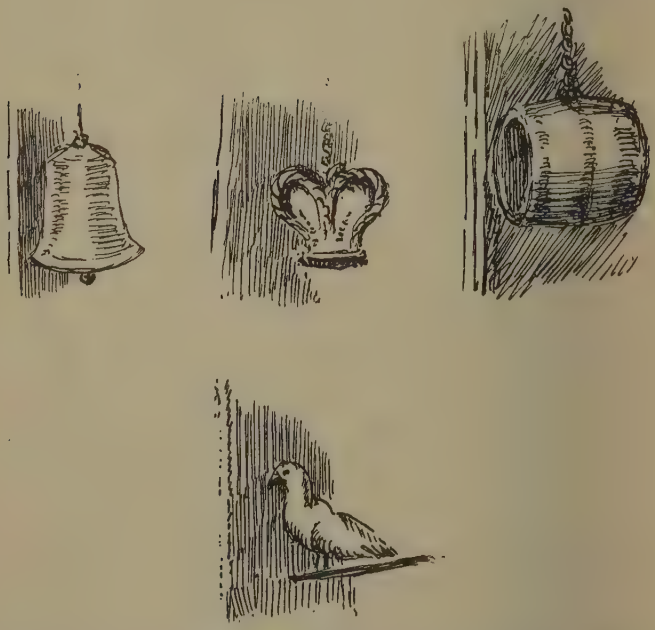
This letter shows a charming familiarity and good feeling between the two great artists—Raphael the young man of twenty-five, and Francia at this time aged fifty-eight. Evidently the two artists were well acquainted with each other's works. Pictures painted by Raphael are known to have been in the collections of the palaces in Bologna.

It was to Francia's care that Raphael entrusted his picture the "Santa Cecilia" when he sent it to Bologna for the chapel of the Beata Elena Duglioli Dall' Oglio: and in his letter he asked Francia to make any corrections he considered necessary, and to repair any damage sustained on the journey.

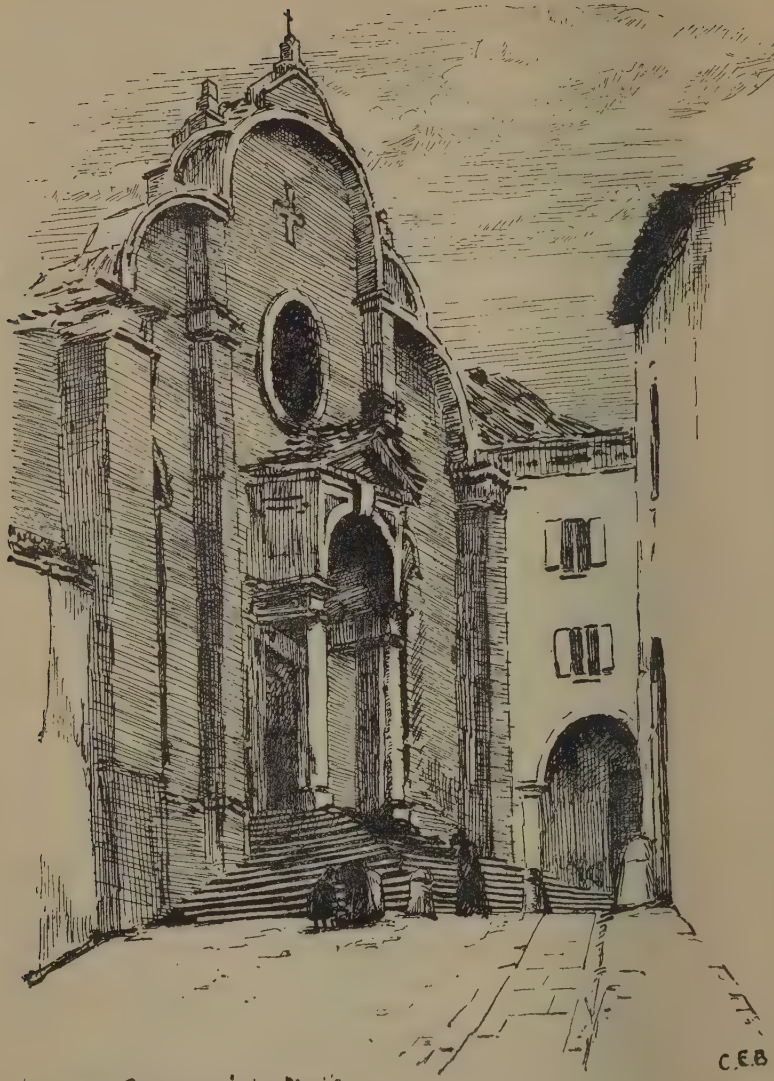
Little trustworthy information can be traced as to the private life of Francesco Francia. He married a lady who is mentioned as Caterina: we know they had two sons, Giacomo and Giulio, who both followed their father's artistic profession. Francia was a man of affairs, as well as a busy artist in so many various departments. He was five times "Massaro," or treasurer, of his Goldsmith's Guild, the last time being in 1514. He was also elected one of the sixteen Gonfalonieri del popolo, also called Tribunes of the people, an office for which the most important and distinguished citizens were chosen: this was in 1511. He still held office under the change of government when Pope Julius II came in 1506. His position throughout his life was an honourable one, and he was respected and loved by his fellow-citizens.

As an artist his activities were very various, and his fame was widely known in his own lifetime. The more his work is known and studied, the more it will be recognized that that fame was well deserved. His technical skill and the perfection of his work in detail can hardly be surpassed in any of the Italian schools of painting. But he has higher claims to our appreciation. His work is

full of thought and feeling. Perfect self-restraint is perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of our artist. He does pourtray intense feeling, but it is never exaggerated or uncontrolled. He has all the sweetness and grace of Perugino, without his affectation. And the pleasant cheerfulness of his disposition seems to pervade his work.



SIGNS OF THE GOLDSMITHS IN THE VIA DEGLI OREFICI



SAN GIOVANNI IN MONTE

CHAPTER XXII

THE LATER SCHOOLS OF PAINTING IN BOLOGNA

"*Non taccio Guido, benche morte acerba*
Cel tolse quando sua virtù fioriva,
Come tempesta, che ruina l'erba."
"Viridario," ACHILLINI.

FRANCIA had formed a very numerous School of Art at Bologna, and his influence may be traced long after the great master himself had passed away. Malvasia records that a picture of St Sebastian by Francia, in the church of the Misericordia, was taken as a model and carefully studied by the young artists of succeeding generations. The Carracci studied it and sent their pupils to learn from it also: its measurements were carefully recorded in the archives of the school. Malvasia adds that Francesco Albani had shown him four drawings he had himself made of it as studies, subdividing and analysing its symmetry.

Of Francia's sons, Giacomo was an industrious worker, though he lacked the inspiration of his father. The name of Giulio is sometimes united with that of his brother on a picture. The two are credited with the painting of the fine figures

of saints on the pillars of S. Giovanni in Monte. St Thomas of Canterbury is among these stately figures which were discovered under white-wash in the restoration of the church in 1903 and 1904. There are pictures by the two brothers in the Pinacoteca, and by Giacomo in some of the churches of Bologna.

The two frescoes—"Cecilia and Valerian crowned by the Angel" and "Cecilia withstanding the Prefect"—in the little church of S^a^ Cecilia, are by Gian Maria Chiodarolo. There are two of his pictures in the Pinacoteca. But excellent as his work is, little is known of him, except that he was a pupil of Francia's.

Much more remains of the work of Amico Aspertini, another artist who worked at the frescoes in S^a^ Cecilia. His two pictures represent the execution and the burial of Valerian and his brother; they are not works of great merit. Amico has one picture in the Pinacoteca, and a much more pleasing work in S. Martino, The Virgin and Child with St Nicholas, St. Lucy, a Bishop and some other figures. There are other pictures by Amico in various churches of Bologna. But by far the finest works of Amico Aspertini are the frescoes in the Cappella di S. Agostino, in the north aisle of the church of S. Frediano at Lucca. The subjects are: the Nativity, the Entombment, the Baptism of St Augustine, and the Legend of S. Frediano diverting the Serchio. Our artist here rises to quite a different level both in composition and

execution from his ordinary work. Malvasia mentions much more painting by Amico as in existence in his day: he appears to have been a very rapid worker. It was inevitable that the frescoes with which he adorned the outsides of houses should in time succumb to the forces of the elements. He was an eccentric genius, and some of his work is unattractive, but the best shows a very high order of merit. There was an elder brother—Guido—whose frescoes under the portico of the Duomo are recorded by Vasari. These frescoes perished when the portico was pulled down for the rebuilding of the great church. One picture in the Pinacoteca—an Adoration of the Magi—is attributed to Guido Aspertini, but the attribution has been questioned. Guido died in 1509 at a comparatively early age: he seems to have been regarded as a painter of great promise.

There are a good many pictures attributed to Bartolomeo Ramenghi ("detto il Bagnacavallo" from the birthplace of his grandfather) in the churches and palaces of Bologna. Two painted by him are in the Pinacoteca. Among the many other artists whose names we find in this period, the most important is Innocenzo da Imola. He became a pupil of Francia's in 1508, as is shown by an entry in Francia's note-book. He had previously studied in Florence under Albertinelli. The most interesting of his works remaining in Bologna are the frescoes in the Palazzina della Viola. This pleasant palace was built for Annibale Bentivoglio; but it

was for Bonifacio Ferreri d'Ivrea, Bishop of Vercelli, that Innocenzo executed the frescoes. The frescoes painted in this palace by Chiodarolo, Amico Aspertini, Prospero Fontana and Nicolo dell' Abate have perished, and those by Innocenzo have suffered somewhat; but enough remains to show the importance of the work. Other pictures by Innocenzo are at S. Michele in Bosco, and in other churches, and some in the Pinacoteca. It is curious to note how pictures of Innocenzo's frequently look like copies of the work of Raphael. There is a certain hardening, but the similarity of style combined with the touch of another hand is evident.

Francesco Primaticcio was a pupil of Innocenzo's and of Bagnacavallo. He was working under Giulio Romano at Mantua when the King of France, hearing of the fine decorations that were being executed for the Duke in his palace, wrote to ask him to send him a young artist skilled both in painting and stucco work. The Duke of Mantua chose Primaticcio, who went to France in 1531. He worked for Francis I in company with the Florentine Rosso. Primaticcio decorated galleries and rooms in the palace both with fresco and stucco work, and was very skilful in executing copies of ancient sculpture with which he adorned the Queen's gardens at Fontainebleau. Francis recognized his services by conferring many distinctions on him, and in 1544 made Primaticcio Abbé of S. Martin. Primaticcio lived on through the reigns of the next two kings, and was made com-

missary general over all the buildings of the kingdom. He continued to hold the same important office under Charles IX till his death in 1570 : he was a capable architect as well as a painter. In this way was the influence of Bolognese art carried into France.

Another artist, Pellegrino Tibaldi, carried Bolognese influence into Spain in his paintings for Philip II in the Escurial. Pellegrino was born in Bologna in 1527 ; his father came from Milanese territory, and had already been working as a stonemason for five years in Bologna. Pellegrino learnt his art under Bagnacavallo and studied also in Rome. He was architect as well as painter, and there is much of his work of both kinds in Bologna, as well as of the work of his son Domenico in architecture. To this same period belongs the work of Prospero Fontana ; that of his daughter being a little later, as she died in 1614. One of Lavinia's pictures in the Pinacoteca is specially interesting ; the subject is Queen Louisa presenting the infant Francis I to S. François de Paul. The figure of St Francis is very dignified. Other pictures by Lavinia are in a chapel of S. Giacomo Maggiore, in S^{a} Maria della Pietà, and in the church of the Sacro Cuore di Gesù.

Another pupil of Prospero Fontana's was the Flemish Dionisio Calvart, who was born at Antwerp and made some beginnings in art in his own country. He set out for Italy, intending to study in Rome. But resting in Bologna on his way, he

found the art school there so flourishing that he decided to stay there to pursue his studies. Good pictures by this artist are in many of the churches of Bologna, and some are in the Pinacoteca.

Before passing from the immediate followers of Francia, mention must be made of a pupil of the great master who became distinguished as an engraver. Marc Antonio Raimondi was born in Bologna about 1475. He worked for many years under Francia, and was one of his favourite pupils. Raimondi developed the process of engraving on copper to great perfection. He engraved a very great number of the works of Raphael and of other painters. There are many specimens of his work in the Accademia of Bologna, some framed on the walls of Corridor No. 5; still more that can only be seen by the courteous permission of the Direttore. Some of these latter come from the University Collection. The earliest one with a date is of the year 1508.

It was in 1589 that the Carracci opened their school of art in Bologna. Even though we cannot feel in sympathy with the Eclectic School of painting, we must admit that their work was not wasted. The work of later artists in Bologna under the influence of their traditions and the examples of their work shows a higher level of excellence than the painting of contemporary artists in most other lands. That is until we come to the time of the modern schools of art.

The Carracci were essentially decorative artists.

In galleries the colossal figures of their pictures are overpowering. But given a vast dome-like tribune, the *raison d'être* of their artistic efforts appears. And some of their altar pictures in their places in the churches for which they were painted may be appreciated as fine works. The Martyrdom of St Margaret by Ludovico Carracci, in the church of S. Maurizio at Mantua, is one that shows his best qualities. There are very many pictures by the Carracci scattered in the churches of Bologna that are far finer than the few in the Pinacoteca.

The artistic aims of the school were set forth in a sonnet by Agostino Carracci, the purport of which may be given thus :—

> He who fain would make himself a good painter
> Should have in hand the drawing of Rome ;
> Venetian shadow should move him,
> The terrific force of Michelangelo's manner,
> The natural truth of Titian,
> The pure and sovereign style of Correggio,
> The true symmetry of Raphael ;
> The dignity and principle of Tibaldi,
> The invention of the learned Primaticcio.
> And a little of the grace of Parmigianino,
> But without so much study and so much effort
> The work will only arrive at imitation,
> Which here our Niccolino left to us.

Ludovico Carracci was born in 1555 ; he was the pupil of Prospero Fontana before he travelled to Florence, Parma, Mantua and other places to study the works of other contemporary and earlier artists. His idea was to seek to combine the ex-

cellences of the various schools of art. His cousins Agostino (1557–1602) and Annibale (1560–1609) worked with him till they went to Rome in 1600. The Annunciation in the lunette of the Capella Maggiore of S. Pietro, the Duomo of Bologna, is one of Ludovico Carracci's finest works.

Born but one year later and surviving him by ten years was the artist Bartolomeo Cesi. He did much fine work in quite a different style from the work of the Carracci. His frescoes in S[a] Maria dei Bulgari, the little chapel of the Archiginnasio, are in perfect preservation, looking as fresh as if they had been painted but yesterday; and they are interesting and attractive work. The churches show many good pictures by Cesi, and there is work of his in at least two palaces.

The Procaccini, Ercole the father and his two sons Camillo and Giulio Cesare, were born in Bologna, and its Pinacoteca, its churches and palaces show some of their work. But though trained in Bologna, it was working in Milan that they achieved their greatest fame.

Of the pupils of the Carracci, Guido Reni was the greatest. He was born in Bologna in 1575. Guido is well known in the picture galleries of Europe, but much of his finest work remains in his native city. The fresco in the Tribune of the chapel of S[t] Dominic, representing the reception of the saint into heaven, is one of his most dignified compositions. The Madonna and Child in the church of S. Bartolomeo is a very beautiful little

work. The portrait of "Il Beato Andrea Corsini, Vescovo," one of Guido's pictures in the Pinacoteca, shows a simple and stately figure. There are many other pictures by Guido in the picture gallery and in the churches of Bologna. Quite unusual qualities are shown in the pretty childish forms of the little boys in a fine picture in the office of the Economata in the Palazzo Pubblico. Guido began his art studies under Dionisio Calvart before entering the school of the Carracci. He died in 1642.

A fellow student with Guido, both under Calvart and in the school of the Carracci, was Francesco Albani, who was born at Bologna in 1578. His religious pictures in Bologna show him in quite a different light from those of classical subjects which are better known in Rome.

Alessandro Tiarini was a pupil of the Fontanas and also of Cesi.

Domenico Zampieri (Domenichino) was born in Bologna in 1581. He studied at first under Calvart, and then passed to the school of the Carracci. Like Guido Reni and Albani, he was afterwards attracted to Rome. His only works in Bologna are in the Pinacoteca.

Andrea Sirani was a pupil of Guido Reni, and Elisabetta Sirani learnt from her father. Andrea's work as we see it in Bologna is mostly mediocre; but he transmitted to his daughter the teachings of the greater Guido Reni. Elisabetta was born on January 8th, 1638. Conte Canonico Malvasia observed and encouraged the early promise of her

genius. She was a most successful artist, and soon became famous. She was patronized by many princes from other countries as well as by those of Italy. The Empress Eleonora, widow of Ferdinand III, gave her a commission. Princes and distinguished ladies came to see her at work in her studio. She worked industriously and rapidly. The number of pictures she produced in her short life is quite marvellous. Sudden illness attacked her, and she passed away on August 28th, 1665, being only twenty-seven years old. Her fellow citizens testified their grief at losing their gifted artist by according her a most magnificent funeral. Many of Elisabetta's pictures are in the Pinacoteca, some large and some quite small ones; some are in the churches of Bologna. One of the most interesting is the fresco of the Baptism of Christ in the church of the Certosa. It is a large picture crowded with figures, and was painted when Elisabetta was only twenty years of age.

The line of artists in Bologna has continued up to modern times. There is much good work by Marc Antonio Franceschini (1648–1724). Much excellent decorative work has been done in the later half of the nineteenth century by Luigi Samoggia. Luigi Serra, the artist who painted in tempera the vault of the Sala del Consiglio Provinciale in the Palazzo Pubblico, was born at Bologna in 1845. The figure of Irnerius is very finely and powerfully executed, and the landscape background is excellent. Luigi Serra has done other good work.

CHAPTER XXIII

BOLOGNESE "FESTAS": SURROUNDING INTERESTS AND RECOLLECTIONS

"*e sempre*
Caligavan le cime ardue tonanti;
E l'oceàn muggiva; e in su l'azzurra
Alpe salian le nuvole fumanti
Da l'oceàno."
"La selva primitiva," GIOSNE CARDUCCI.

THE Madonna di S. Luca is not the only representation of the Madonna devoutly esteemed by the people of Bologna. The Madonna della Pioggia has her "festa" too. It fell this year on Sunday, March 21st.

Throughout the preceding octave the little church of S. Bartolomeo di Reno by the banks of the canal is crowded with a continuous stream of worshippers. The church is decked with gaily coloured gauze draperies. On the "festa" there is a procession, and on its return to the church the benediction is given to the great crowd assembled in and around the piazza in front of the church. Coloured draperies are hung from the windows overlooking the piazza, and these windows are lined with spectators.

On the following Sunday—March 28th—the fifth Sunday in Lent, was the procession of the "Beata Vergine addolorata." This Madonna belongs to the church of S^a Maria dei Servi, and through the octave of the "festa" the image, pierced by the seven swords, stands over the high altar. The church is quite crowded with worshippers before the procession. When the services within are over the great doors are opened, and the procession of the clergy and all holding office in the church, advances, with the image borne high over their heads. It winds round the "portici" that form the quadrangle in front of the church, crowds of people following and swelling the numbers of the crowd already watching outside. There is a halt while from before the great doors the Madonna faces the crowd, the light gleaming back from the metal of the piercing swords, and the benediction is given to the assembled people.

Yet another procession belongs to the spring of the year: it is the procession of the Madonna del Soccorso, or del Borgo. It is on a smaller scale than the procession of the Madonna di S. Luca, but it awakens very keen interest among the inhabitants of the poor quarter of the town in which it is situated. The Madonna is an ancient painted wooden figure; she holds the Child in her arms. A writer of about 1500 mentions it as over 200 years old. The procession takes place on the second Sunday after Easter. The "Festa" was first instituted in 1527 in gratitude for deliverance from

CHURCH OF SA MARIA DEI SERVI, WITH THE PROCESSION OF THE BEATA VERGINE ADDOLORATA

the cholera, which had been prevalent in Bologna, and specially fatal in that part of the town. It was decreed by Cardinal Campeggi, the Bishop of Bologna (and known in England in connection with Henry VIII), who in consultation with the city magistrates voted this testimony of gratitude. The route of the procession is from the church of S^a Maria di Borgo S. Pietro to the church of S. Rocco and back. The whole way is gaily decorated and is lined with crowds of people. On the return to the church of S^a Maria a few prayers are said, and while the Madonna still remains outside the church the priest gives the blessing to the crowd assembled in and around the piazza.

There are delightful walks on the hills near to Bologna, and on the farther Apennines as well as those quite close. The carriage road to the Madonna di S. Luca, though circuitous and much longer than the road by the arcades, well repays the climb in the variety of mountain views that it affords.

The little townships scattered over the country have all their individual interests. And Modena, Ferrara, Forli, Faenza and Imola are all easily visited in day expeditions from Bologna.

The clue in the Biblioteca Comunale that led me to seek at Nonantola the forgotten masterpiece of Michele Lambertini led incidentally to the planning of a most delightful expedition. The train took me to Castel Franco, which is a quaint and quietly attractive little place with historic

memories. Here I arranged with an honest "cocchiere" to drive me first to Nonantola and then on to S. Giovanni in Persiceto, which is on the line of a light railway back to Bologna. The wife of the sacristan at the Badia of Nonantola is a very intelligent and kindly woman, proud of her abbey, and really interested in it. It shall be left to the imagination of future pilgrims to the shrine to solve the problem of how the ancona was photographed with only the traveller's appliances for the camera. It is a very highly placed ancona. The "Signora Sagrestana" can tell. The Archivio with its hundreds of well arranged parchments, including Charters of Charlemagne, the "tesoro," and the grand old church itself, are all most interesting. S. Giovanni in Persiceto also has its interests and its charms.

An expedition that combines beautiful scenery with archæological interests is a visit to Marzabotto. Access to the grounds and to the Museo in the Villa Aria can only be obtained by the kind permission of the owner, Count Aria. But a day spent at Marzabotto is a day to be remembered.

That part of the site of the Etruscan town that has been excavated is among the fields on the plain below the grounds of the Villa, but forming a sort of tableland above the level of the river. Here may be seen the central portion of the Etruscan city which is called Misano. We can trace the "strada decumana" running from east to west; and the "strada cardinale" in its line from north

MARZABOTTO. LAKE AND NORTHERN GROUP OF ETRUSCAN TOMBS

to south. There are the raised footpaths, the drainage channels and the lower parts of the walls of the houses. Outside the eastern gate is a group of tombs. Within the grounds of the Villa is the fine northern group of tombs; and crowning the hill which formed the ancient Acropolis and is called Misanello, we find the remains of five temples. The one with its three steps and fine double base is the most perfect relic of an Etruscan temple that remains in Italy.

Another charming expedition is to Pragatto, which may be combined with a visit to the mediaeval castle of Bazzano some three miles farther out.

And wherever you may fancy to roam in the territory of Bologna, whether in town or "contrada," you may be sure you will meet a kindly and courteous people.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

P. 7 (1).—The new Barriera daziaria is now some distance outside this gate.

P. 10 (2).—This map is also in the Archivio di Stato. It gives the two mediaeval circuits of wall, and within the buildings of Roman Bononia.

P. 10 (3).—Ghiselli gives a story for the origin of the name Aposa for this stream, to the following effect. When after the flood the peoples of the earth began to move westwards, one Ferro, a man of great prudence, came with Apposa his wife, with his daughter, sons, and many followers by sea to the peninsula of Italy, and landed at a spot where he built Ravenna. Leaving his followers there, Ferro pushed on with his own family, and attracted by the position at the foot of the Apennines, they built their habitations beside the stream. The chronicler also asserts that they built a bridge of stone—a statement which seems to need some sort of proof, considering the early date, before we can be satisfied to accept it. One day Apposa, oppressed by the heat, was refreshing herself by bathing in the stream, when a sudden rush of water, caused by heavy rains in the mountains, carried her away and she was drowned. The distressed husband and children followed the body down stream in vain, crying Apposa! The name was given to the torrent in memory of the wife and mother. The same chronicler asserts that Felsina was so called after Ferro's only daughter (*MS. Chronicle Ghiselli*, vol. i, p. 1, Bibl. Univ., Bologna).

CHAPTER III

P. 29 (1).—This Privilegio of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa is dated July 14th, 1162. It is given in favour of the "Canonici Lateranensi" of S. Giovanni in Monte, and grants them various exemptions, and confirms to them the possession of properties situated where the churches of S. Giovanni and S. Vittore were founded, and of other properties at Paderno, S. Marino, S. Apollinare, Villanova and other places.

CHAPTER V

P. 49 (1).—These lines form part of a sonnet which is found in the account of the opening of the Canale di Naviglio, which is given by Negri in his *Annali di Bologna*. They are also to be found in the MS. Chronicle of Giacomo Poggi (Bibl. Univ. Cod., 1491), who says that the sonnet was sent to him. Count Gozzadini quotes the sonnet in his *Memorie di Gio II Bentivoglio*, with slight variations in the reading.

The sonnet begins :—

> "Fu sempre vigilante e sitibondo
> A l'ornamento, a la felicitade
> Di nostra patria e a la tranquillitade
> Il signor nostro messer Gioan secondo."

The sonnet shows contemporary appreciation of Giovanni's work for his country.

Pp. 59 and 68 (2).—Umberto Dallari has given an account of the whole of this correspondence in articles published under the title "Carteggio tra i Bentivoglio e gli Estensi" in *Atti e Memorie R. Deputazione Storia Patria per le Prov. di Romagna*, Ser. III, vols. 18 and 19. He gives a summary of the contents of each letter. The original correspondence is preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Modena, where the officials were very kind and prompt in bringing it to me. The actual letters of the Bentivoglio are there; the letters

of the Este princes are of course only the minutes of the letters from the Estense archives, which were brought to Modena from Ferrara.

P. 70 (3).—An interesting article by Lodovico Frati gives an account of this poetry, with quotations from it. "I Bentivoglio nella poesia contemporanea" "*estratto dal Giornale storico della letteratura italiana.*"

Considerable extracts from contemporary literature in praise of the Bentivoglio and describing the festivities of Giovanni's reign are to be found in the *Memorie per la vita di Giovanni II Bentivoglio* by Count Giovanni Gozzadini.

P. 71 (4).—Giovanni was connected by the marriage of his daughters with the neighbouring princely houses.

Madª Bianca	married		Count Nicolo Rangone.
„ Leonora	„		Gilberto Pii da Carpi.
„ Francesca	„	1st	Galeotto Manfredi.
		2nd	Guido Torelli.
„ Violante	„		Pandolfo Malatesta.
„ Laura	„		Giovanni Gonzaga.

P. 71 (5).—The church of the Madonna del Baraccano was one rebuilt and specially favoured by Giovanni Bentivoglio. It is said to have had its origin in 1403, a small church being built to shelter a miraculous picture of the Virgin which had been painted on the city wall. The old picture was repainted by Francesco Cossa. The date following the signature—MCCCL—needs correcting by replacing XXII to make it read 1472, as appears by the books of the "Compagnia" of the foundation. There is an old chronicler's story (*Historia della Miracolosa Imagine di Maria Vergine detta del Baracano*, by Girolamo Giovannantonij, 1674) that when Annibale II Bentivoglio was for a time restored to power in the city, in 1512 the armies of the Pope, the King of Naples, and of the Venetians were besieging Bologna—the chronicler computes them at 30,000 men. They laid a mine on this side near the Porta S. Stefano. The chronicler tells that on the explosion of the

mine the walls were thrown up so that the opposing forces distinctly saw each other beneath. But the walls miraculously closed again, and the enemy were still outside.

Later the church was decorated with sculptures both in figures and in ornamental work by Properzia de' Rossi, the woman artist, who did much sculptor's work in Bologna, and died in 1530.

CHAPTER VI

P. 75 (1).—There is an excellent account of the stay of Charles V in Bologna and of the ceremonies of his coronation in the *Incoronazione di Carlo V* by G. Giordani. I have drawn many particulars from his narrative. He tells the story that one day when the Emperor was in Titian's studio watching the artist at his work, Titian dropped his brush. Charles stooped and picked it up, saying as he gave it to him, " Titian is worthy to be served by an Emperor."

P. 84 (2).—Eight of the miniatured pictures in the Insignia of the Anziani have for subject incidents connected with the exiled Stuarts.

CHAPTER VII

P. 96 (1).—To the left of the cortile on entering the Museo Civico, on the ground floor, is the Risorgimento Museo. There are preserved the memorials of many heroes; among others, of Ugo Bassi (portraits and documents), of Cav. Cesare Boldrini, the Colonel who was killed while defending the Porta Galliera during the attack of the Austrians in 1849 (No. 123 Uniform); and of Colonel Cesare Gamberini, who fought in so many of his country's battles.

There are portraits of the brothers Vincenzo and Leonida Caldesi, and MS. documents which they have given.

The custode is an old veteran who has heard Ugo Bassi preach, and remembers how he stirred the patriotism of the people when he spoke in the great piazza. He has fought himself in the battles, losing a leg on the field of Custozza.

To the names already mentioned as leaders should be added :—

The Marchese Luigi Tanari, who commanded a battalion of the Civic Guard in the defence of Bologna in 1849; and the Marchese Pizzardi, who was among the volunteers in 1848.

Another citizen, who is being newly commemorated in the name of a street, is Pietro Inviti. As a young captain he did work requiring the highest courage in reorganizing Count Zambeccari's battalion—the "cacciatori Alto Reno." It was necessary to expel some fifty-four members of the corps—undesirable characters who had gained admittance in the stress of troublous times. Inviti ably accomplished this. Later he did good service in influencing Republicans at Ravenna to see the necessity of adherence to the monarchy; after this again in military duties.

No. 142 is the flag of the volunteers raised by Captain Giovanni Lambertini.

No. 159bis is the medal awarded by the Government of the Roman Republic to Captain Cesare Gamberini for having made head with his own company against the enemy in the attack on the Casino dei Quattro Venti on June 3rd, 1849, continuing to fight after being wounded.

CHAPTER VIII

P. 102 ([1]).—There is an interesting article on the office of the Anziani by Umberto Dallari in *Atti e Mem. R.D.S.P. per le Prov. di Romagna*, Ser. III, vol. V, 1887; *Dell' Anzianato nell' antico comune di Bologna.*

CHAPTER X

Pp. 143 and 152 (1).—The original document of the Authentic Habita is at Vienna.

The Latin text of the passage quoted, continued to the end of the document is :—

"Verumtamen si eis litem super aliquo negotio quispiam movere presumpserit, huius rei optione scolaribus data, eos coram domino aut magistro suo vel ipsius civitatis episcopo, quibus hanc iurisdictionem dedimus, conveniant. Quod si vero ad alium iudicem trahere temptaverint eum, et si iustissima causa fuerit, pro tali conamine a debito cadat. Hanc autem legem inter imperiales constitutiones sub titulo 'ne filius pro patre, etc.' inseri iubemus.

"Dat. apud Roncalias, anno Domini MCLVIII, mense Novembri."

The above text is from the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Legum sectio IV, Tomus I, 178 Privilegium Scholasticum.

Savioli gives the text of the document in Vol. I, Part II of his history. There are a few variations in his reading.

CHAPTER XI

P. 174 (1).—It is interesting to remember that on his return from the Crusade on succeeding to the throne of England, Edward I took with him Francesco, the son of the great Accursius. Francesco was also a great teacher of Law; the King consulted him, and he helped in the legal reforms that were the work of the early years of Edward's reign. He was for a time at Oxford, and after several years spent in England, he returned to Bologna and again lectured in the University of his native city.

P. 176 (2).—The most highly prized of the records of the University are the "Rotuli." There are some as early as 1384–5, but from 1438 onwards they are continuous and complete up to the year 1799. Until the

middle of the eighteenth century they are on parchment; after that time paper was used. They number over seven hundred. There is one each year for the "Universita dei legisti" and one for the "Universita degli artisti."

After the first few years the Rotuli are miniatured. The miniatures of those of the Artisti begin in 1440–41. Soon the illuminations become more elaborate. The finest are those of the second half of the quattro-cento, and the earlier years of the cinque-cento. The illustration shows the Rotulo of the Universita dei legisti for the year 1532. Ugo Buoncompagni's name appears as Lettore Institutionum. The triple crown was added when he became Pope Gregory XIII.

The "Rotuli" are now preserved in the Archivio di Stato.

P. 185 (3).—The influence of the University of Bologna on the formation of the modern Italian literary language is an interesting study. Dante's appreciation of the dialect of Bologna is found in his *De vulgari Eloquentia*, Cap. XV.

CHAPTER XII

P. 191 (1).—I have thought it convenient to employ the Italian archaeological terms in the text and to give some explanation of them in a note.

a doppio giro	= with a double turn.
a navicella	= boat-shaped.
a stampa	= stamped: this form of decoration on the pottery is deeper cut than the "graffiti."
bicchiere	= goblet or cup.
cista	= a sort of pail: the circumference is equal all through from top to base. The Italian word is used in the British Museum catalogue.
cista a cordoni	= a cista with cord-like bands round it at intervals.
colatoi	= a strainer.

graffiti = decoration made by the use of a sharp instrument of bone or metal, working on the soft clay.

aenocoi = oenochoe.

penderuole = probably weights (see illustration).

presentatoi = perhaps it may be allowed to suggest "waiter" as a simple equivalent for this.

It is a technical archaeological word akin to "presentato." The passage chosen in the earlier editions of the *Vocabolario degli Accad. della Crusca* (4th edition 1729–38) to illustrate the meaning is :—Galat. 81. Il presentare alcuna cosa del piattello che si ha dinanzi, non credo che stia bene, se non fosse molto maggiore di grado colui che presenta, sicchè il presentato ne riceva onore (Qui in forza di sust, e vale La persona a cui si regala). This is quoted by other dictionaries. The new edition of the *Vocab. della Crusca* has not quite reached the word.

Professor Brizio describes "presentatoi" as "fatti a due code di rondini e sorreggenti ciascuna un bicchiere" *L'Appennino Bolognese*, p. 215 = made with two swallow-tails and each supporting a cup.

sceletro-rannichiato = the skeleton of men buried with knees doubled up, and head bent and resting on a hand.

semi-lunato = half-moon, or crescent-shaped : these knives were probably used as razors.

situla = an urn in which the ashes of the deceased were buried : it is vase-shaped.

tazza = kylix.

terramare = "The term 'terramara' is applied by M.M. Strobel and Pigorini to the accumulation of ashes, charcoal, animal bones, and remains of all kinds which have been thrown away by man all round his dwellings, and have accumulated there during the lapse of centuries. The name which has been given to them was derived from the fact that they furnish a kind of earthy ammoniacal manure, known in the district by the name of terramara." Translation by E.B.T. of Louis Figuier's

Primitive Man. There are "terramare" in the neighbourhood of Modena. To these many of the Ligurian inhabitants retired on the coming of the Umbrians.

The British Museum has some figures of a ploughing scene, arranged on a plate : the figures are of the Villanova period. No. 346.

CHAPTER XVI

P. 253 (1).—There was more of the beautiful glass by this artist in the chapel windows of S. Petronio, but the artillery firing in the rejoicings at the coronation of the Emperor Charles V shattered it.

P. 255 (2).—The Museo di S. Petronio contains the church plate that has survived Napoleonic and earlier depredations. Opposite to the cases of plate are those containing the illuminated choral books and early music. At the end of the room are some richly embroidered vestments. The fine crucifix is said to be the work of Pollaiuolo. The Virgin and Child enthroned to the left of the window is the one that Malvasia tells us was painted by Lippo Dalmasio on a pillar of the church in 1407. Part of the inscription remains. It was transferred to canvas about the middle of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XVII

P. 280 (1).—From the "Memorie" of Fra Lodovico da Prelormo in the Cronaca dei Frati Domenicani in the Dominican archives at Bologna, foglio 27.

CHAPTER XVIII

P. 285 and illustration facing p. 286 (1).—This picture represents the procession of the Madonna di S. Luca. We have the view of the Porta Saragozza as it was in 1719. Artistic licence has brought the Monte della Guardia quite close to it. The venerated picture is there under the

baldachino, and the great lamps are carried before it as in the processions of to-day.

But this is not the usual annual procession, but one specially appointed. Below is represented the great occasion. Again it is a question of the canal being made navigable to the Po. The scientific investigations are indicated in the picture. Pope Clement XI and the Emperor Charles VI are among the great personages whose names are connected with the occasion in the inscription in the Insignia; together with the names of many distinguished citizens of Bologna. The date is November 29th, 1719.

CHAPTER XIX

P. 301 (1).—The care and judicious energy of the "Comitato per Bologna storica artistica" is constantly restoring the beauty and interest of fine old houses, as well as the public buildings. Under their direction Girolamo Gioanetti's liberality has recently restored the fine house in the Via Mazzini. Next to it is the Casa Mamo, restored in memory of the singer Adelaide Borghi Mamo, by her daughter. The Casa Salimbeni in Via Marchesana is an interesting house of a different type. It was restored in the same year—1907—by Filippo Comi. Bologna owes much to the artistic taste and discrimination of Commendatore Gaetano Tacconi and Cav. Alfonso Rubbiani, who direct the operations of the Comitato.

(2).—I regret that want of space prevents my doing justice to the genius of Properzia de' Rossi. I must refer those who are interested in her work to *The Women Artists of Bologna*, by Laura M. Ragg, in which they will find an interesting account of her life.

P. 313 (3).—Another work by Lombardi is the terra-cotta Madonna in the centre arch of the church of the Baraccano.

The Christ at the column in the centre of the nave of

S. Giovanni in Monte is with good reason believed to be the work of A . Lombardi. Malvasia (Pit. e Scolture) distinctly states that it is his : though some guide-books have suggested Pietro Pavese or Nicolo da Ferrara. It is carved out of a single fig tree in one piece.

CHAPTER XX

P. 329 (1).—There is a picture signed "xpoforus pinxit 1467" in the church of S. Prospero (Via Imperiale, n. 8) which needs investigation. It has been much retouched, and if it was painted by the early Cristoforo, the date must be corrected.

P. 333 (2).—After having developed my theories on the early art of Bologna, I have seen the interesting articles by Dott. Tiberio Gerevich in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, November and December, 1900 (Anno VI, Nos. 11 and 12). I am glad to find that his studies, *Sull' origine del Rinascimento Pittorico in Bologna*, have led him to conclusions similar in direction with my own.

CHAPTER XXI

P. 336 (1).—I can only give an illustration of the angels below the Madonna and the signature. This was all it was possible to photograph as the picture hangs in the narrow room. I had hoped to be able to give the whole picture, for on another visit to the office the authorities very kindly took down all three compartments of the triptych and placed them in an adjoining room. But an extraordinary storm of dust and darkness came on, and when it passed the daylight had failed. Owing to this I find my photograph does not do justice to the fine picture. It was the last afternoon of my last stay, so I could not return to photograph again. That must be left for my next visit to Bologna.

P. 338 (2).—The subjects of the ancona are :—

Upper row, from left to right,

1. S^t. John the Baptist.
2. The Archangel Michael.
3. S^t. Peter.
4. The Crucifixion.
5. S^t. Paul.
6. S^t. Lucy.
7. S^t. Anselm, the Abbot, founder of the Monastery of Nonantola.

The lower row are :—

1. S^t. Bernard, in Cistercian habit.
2. S^t. Senesio, Martyr.
3. Pope Sylvester.
4. The Virgin and Child.
5. Pope Hadrian (buried at Nonantola).
6. S^t. Benedict.
7. S^t. Scholastica.

In the predella saints, and in the centre, Christ rising from the tomb.

P. 343 (3).—Lorenzo Costa's pictures in Bologna :—

In S. Giovanni in Monte. High Altar picture; Altar picture in the Ercolani Chapel.

In S. Petronio: 7th chapel east side; altar picture and lunette. The frame is of Formiginesque design. Costa also designed the glass of this chapel.

The fresco in the 5th chapel is also usually attributed to Costa; I have suggested the possibility of its being Francia's work (see p. 351).

Malvasia says that the altar picture in this chapel is by Costa. (*Pitture, scolture, et architetture delle chiese di Bologna*," p. 277, ed. 1766.)

In the Pinacoteca: No. 65. S. Petronio enthroned with St Francis of Assisi and St Dominic. On the lower part

of the throne there is a bas-relief representing the Adoration of the Magi.

The picture is signed Laurentius Costa F. MCCCCCII.

No. 215. The Virgin and Child enthroned with S. Petronio and Sª Tecla. From the church of Sª Tecla.

No. 376. The marriage of the Virgin, signed and dated 1505. From the church of the SS. Annunziata.

No. 392. The Virgin seated, with Sᵗ Sebastian and Sᵗ James.

Signed Laurentius Costa F.A. 1491.

S. Giacomo Maggiore :—

In the Bentivoglio Chapel : The Virgin enthroned with the portrait group of Giovanni II Bentivoglio, his wife Ginevra and his sons and daughters.

It is signed and was painted in 1488.

Opposite are the two "trionfi" frescoes also by Costa. The other decorations of the chapel, said to be his, have been much retouched.

Costa's two frescoes in Sª Cecilia are very beautiful ; the subjects are :—"Pope Urban instructing Valerian in the Faith" and "Sᵗ Cecilia giving her possessions to the poor."

In Sª Maria della Misericordia. Lunette of High Altar picture.

352 (⁴) Francesco Francia's pictures in Bologna :—

In the Palazzo Pubblico : "Madonna del terremoto." This fresco is now in the Sala d'Ercole ; it was moved here from the Cappella degli Anziani in 1897.

In the Museo Civico : The Crucifixion. SS. Vitale and Agricola.

In the Cappella Sª Maria degli Angeli of this church there is an altar "frontale" by Francia ; it encloses a Virgin and Child by an artist of the fourteenth-century school of Bologna.

In the Pinacoteca : No. 78. The Madonna and Child

enthroned; an angel playing on a lute sits on the lower step of the throne. The saints on the right of the Virgin are St Augustine, St Monica, and St John the Baptist; on the left, St Francis, St Procolo, and St Sebastian. The picture was ordered by Messer Bartolomeo Felicini for his chapel in the church of S^{a} Maria della Misericordia.

It is signed:—Franciae Aurificis MCCCCLXXXXIIII. The four strokes at the end have been partially erased, but they are still a perfectly clear marking if examined. The kneeling figure in the picture is a portrait of the donor.

This is the earliest signed and dated picture by Francia that is known.

79. The Annunciation. The saints are St Jerome and St John the Baptist.

The picture was painted for the Oratorio of S. Girolamo di Miramonte.

80. The Madonna and Child enthroned. St Augustine, St George, St John the Baptist, and St Stephen.

From the Manzuoli altar of S^{a} Maria della Misericordia.

81. The Adoration.

This picture was painted to the order of Monsignor Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio; it was for the High Altar of the Church of the Misericordia. Costa painted the lunette which is still in the church: his predella is now in the Brera at Milan. Anton Galeazzo is represented as wearing the habit of a knight of the Holy Sepulchre. The order is said to have been founded by Godefroi de Bouillon; and just before Antonio Galeazzo's visit to the Holy Land in 1499 it had been revived by the patronage of Pope Alexander VI.

The other figures are St. Joseph, St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, and two angels. Also a portrait of the poet Cavaliere Girolamo Pandolfi di Casio, in the figure crowned with a wreath of oak-leaves. Date 1499.

82.—The birth, the childhood, and the death of Christ.

This interesting predella was painted for the Gozzadini

altar in the church of the Misericordia. It is now replaced by a copy over the altar in the chapel. It was probably painted about 1499.

83.—Pieta, or "Cristo morto sostenuto da due Angioletti." This was painted for the Misericordia church, and Malvasia records it as in the "ornato dorato" above the Felicini altar picture.

371.—The Immaculate Conception.

On the left of the picture are S^t^. John the Divine and S^t^. Francis of Assisi, and on the right S^t^. Bernardino and S^t^. George. Signed

"Francia Aurifex B. Pinxit.
MCCCCC."

From the Franciscan church of the SS. Annunziata.

372.—The Virgin and Child enthroned, on either side St. Paul and St. Francis of Assisi. In front of the throne the child St. John the Baptist. This is the Scappi altar picture from the church of the SS. Annunziata.

373.—The Crucifixion.

S^t^. Mary Magdalen at the foot of the cross, to the left the Virgin, on the other side S^t^. John the Evangelist. Also S^t^. Jerome and S^t^. Francis of Assisi kneeling.

586.—The two "paci" or "maiestate" are also in the Pinacoteca.

S. Giacomo Maggiore.

Altar picture in the Bentivoglio Chapel. One of the finest of Francia's works in this kind of composition.

Santa Cecilia.

The two most beautiful frescoes in this church are by Francia. The first—the marriage of S^t^. Cecilia. The sweet faces of the women are very characteristic of Francia's work: the whole design is fine and the figures are graceful. The landscape is beautiful: the fresco has suffered somewhat from time and neglect, but looking at it we realize how great has been the loss in the destruction of the other frescoes that Francia painted for the Benti-

voglio family in their palace. The opposite fresco, on the other side of the altar, is also Francia's: it represents the burial of S^t^. Cecilia (November 22nd, 232). The drawing of the two figures of the men supporting the body of S^t^. Cecilia is remarkable for its truth in rendering the effort of supporting the weight. All the frescoes in the chapel were executed for its patron, Giovanni Bentivoglio. The work was done between 1504 and 1506.

San Martino.

Francia's picture is in the first chapel on the left: it is very beautiful. The Madonna and Child are enthroned over an arch through which is seen a lovely little landscape. The saints are St. Roch, St. Bernardino, St. Anthony the Abbot, and St. Sebastian. The pieta above and the head of Christ bearing the cross below the picture are also Francia's. The splendid frame is the original one made for the picture. It has been stated that Francia designed the frame. The design may perhaps be his, but it is certainly most probable that Formigine made the frame. The picture is signed. Francia designed the glass of the window.

Another fine picture in chapel 9 of the church is the "Assumption of the Virgin," with its lunette. The guide-books mostly attribute it to Lorenzo Costa. Malvasia and some other old authorities say it is by Perugino. Documentary evidence has not been traced.

Some frescoes in the church at Ronzano are said to be by Francia.

P. 353 ([5]).—These notes are given on page 55 of the original edition of the "Felsina Pittrice" of Malvasia, published in 1678; and on p. 52 of the 1841 reprint.

P. 356 ([6]).—The letter is quoted on page 45 of the original edition of the "Felsina Pittrice" of Malvasia, and on p. 47 of the 1841 reprint. There is only one picture by Timoteo Vite in the Pinacoteca at Bologna,—the "Maddalena penitente," brought from the Duomo at Urbino.

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